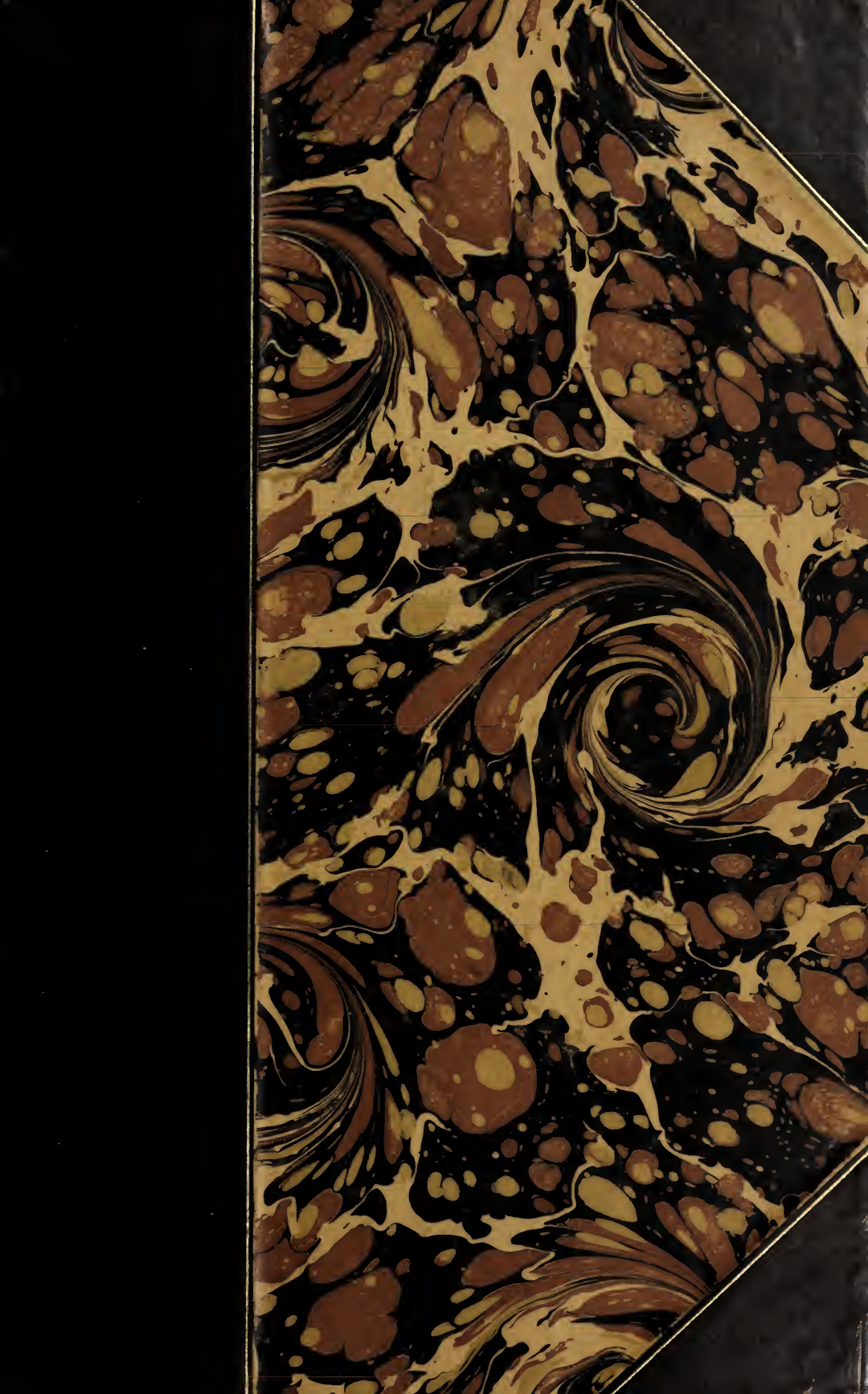

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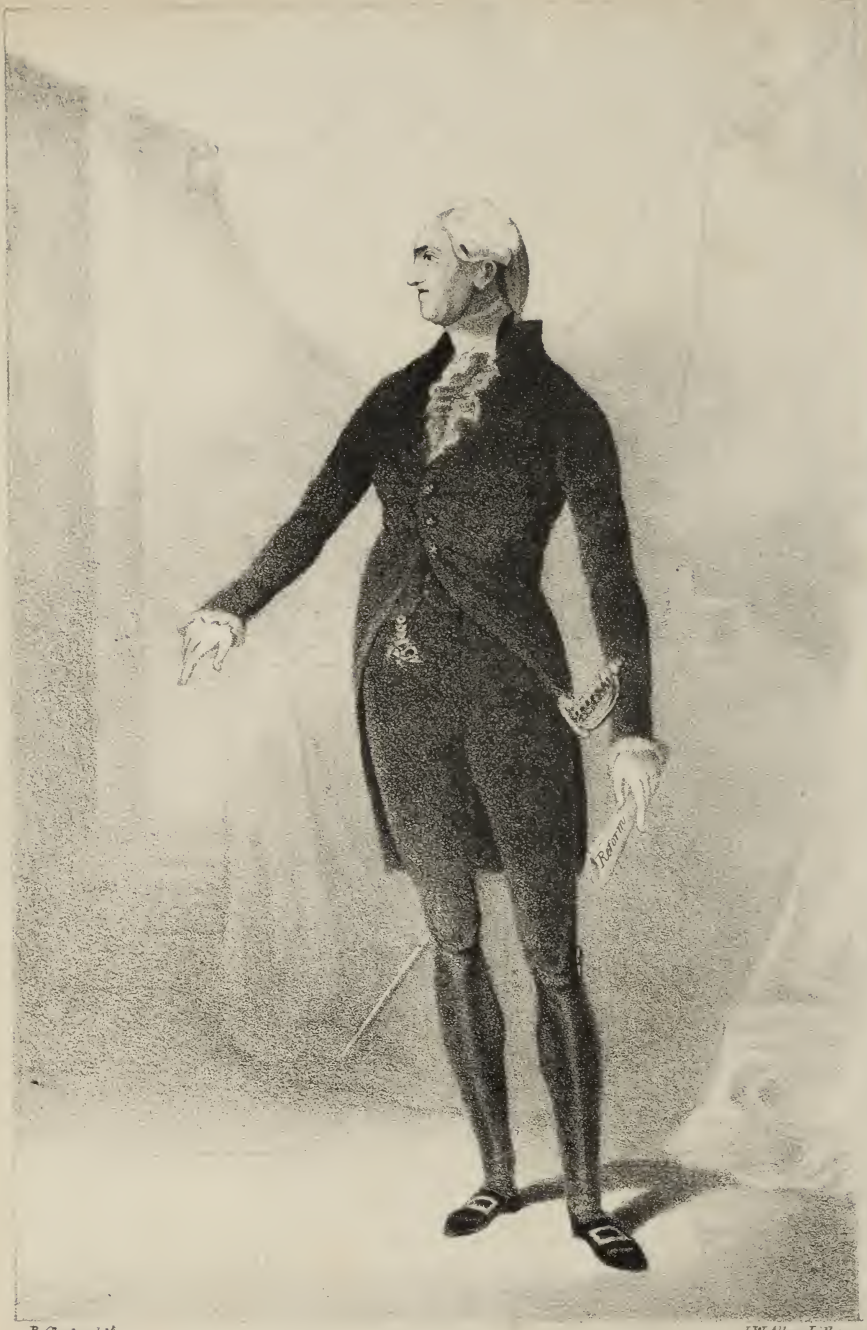

B. Clayton delt

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Henry Flood

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

RIGHT HON. HENRY FLOOD, M. P.

COLONEL OF THE VOLUNTEERS:

CONTAINING

REMINISCENCES OF THE IRISH COMMONS, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE GRAND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1783.

"Nothing stimulates to great deeds more strongly than great examples."—FLOOD.

BY WARDEN FLOOD, ESQ.

Late Captain 51st Regiment;

AUTHOR OF "A SKETCH ON THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY STATE OF PRUSSIA."

DUBLIN:

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TO

THE PROVOST,

FELLOWS AND PROFESSORS,

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

I dedicate this memorial of Mr. Flood to you, from a sense of your eminence as men of literature and science, who have elevated the character of the University you preside over, to rank with the most distinguished of Europe. Where could I, with equal propriety, have sought patronage more pure and exalted? Where could I, with more probability, have sought indulgence for an imperfect performance?

It is to men of genius, to instructors of moral and political philosophy, to men respected for their private virtues, and admired for their learning, that any account, however indifferent, of a person of kindred spirit, is justly inscribed.

I remain,

With the greatest deference,

Your obedient servant,

THE AUTHOR.

INTRODUCTION.

The period comprised in these memoirs, is the most interesting portion of the constitutional history of Ireland. We begin when the dawn of freedom pierces the gloom of past centuries, and we advance as the morning of nationality breaks upon us, which promises so much for its meredian brightness.

The accession of George the Third was, to Ireland, an era for the diffusion of principles of government, of a more comprehensive character than hitherto practised; which something less than a quarter of a century matured and ratified by an act of renunciation.

The infusion into the native legislature of a few men who were enlightened by the philosophy of Locke, and the learning of Molyneux, produced a gradual, but manifest change in the sentiments and acts of the senate and cabinet.

"The case of Ireland" went to establish in the minds of the learned, national distinctness and constitutional independence, and to which the arbitrary mandate of the British parliament, shortly after its publication, gave a new and additional interest. The work was instructive to the young legislator from the numerous statutes it reviewed and explained. He rose from its perusal imbued with the theory,—as it is said of the last of the Roman Tribunes, "he arose more energetic, devoted, and patriotic, from the study of the pages of Livy,"—like the waters that receive their taste and property from the ore they pass through. "The case of Ireland," however, was limited to the intellectual, from its philosophical gravity, legal research, and historic allusion.

"The Letters of Swift" had a more general effect from their extensive circulation: written too, in a style so as to be accessible to every mind, and agreeable to many tastes. They appealed to the patriotism of those who were enlightened and influential, they instructed those who were uninformed, and they sarcastically reminded those who were in power.

It is true these productions appeared before the time strictly within the limits of this work; but this was the season of their germination, and that of their fructuition followed.

As we descend in the page of constitutional history from Molyneux and Swift, the mind, without interruption, passes to Flood and Grattan, for, on the political arena, none equalled or rivalled them, in learning, in eloquence, or in devotion to their fatherland. Though their destinies have been diversified, and they have radiated with different and peculiar effulgence; they, of all their contemporaries in parliament, concentrated the powers of their understanding to regenerate, to adorn, and to elevate Ireland.

The national affairs and the statesmen of Ireland, have generally received too partial a colouring. The hand who has designed the picture, has uniformly occupied the fore-ground with figures of his own predilection, and represented them with perfections after his own peculiar mannerism. We, therefore, need not be surprised at the pointedness of an author* whose

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* The anonymous author of "Strictures on Plowden." One sentence will be sufficient to justify the text. My authority says—"Mr. Plowden has thought proper to dignify his work with the title of 'A Review of the state of Ireland,' while it is, in fact, nothing more than an intemperate, and highly impolitic party pamphlet, differing only in bulk and price, from those casual publications which attract notice for a short time, and then sink into eternal oblivion."

Doctor Middleton has exhibited, as nearly as possible, the partialities of Dion Cassius.

See "Strictures on Plowden."

acumen is undisputed, when he draws to the mind some resemblance as annalists, in a "laborious compiler" and Dion Cassius.

Mr. Hardy, as the biographer of the "noble Macænas of regenerated Ireland," had an opportunity of giving a minute and national view of many momentous transactions, which he did not accomplish. He has neglected, or purposely suppressed, the refined friendship, and early co-operation of lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood; at a time, when the flame of freedom had a vestal purity with them. The noble earl in one of his letters after a long course of years and trials writes to his friend in these terms. "Is there upon earth a man I love more than you, or in whose company I find more delight? My friendship for you must be proof against everything, since even an interval of deviation,* it is, thank Fate! no more in the '*idem de sentire de Reipublica*,' has not been able to affect it." Mr. Hardy has descended to the pedestrian path, and has interwoven the party views of his political patrons, with portraitures of celebrated men; executed, indeed, with much astuteness and plausibility. He is entitled to my particular notice from his superficial judgment of the *motives* of Mr.

* On the "Simple Repeal."

Flood; though he has in this, transgressed the canon laid down by Cicero, and followed by Middleton—"that we are not to form our opinions of illustrious men by a particular part of their lives, but by the whole course and tendency of their public services."

Lord Charlemont's own words, in reference to another great man, who had his days of unpopularity, is the mildest and most appropriate rebuke to his biographer:—"One thing, however, appears very extraordinary, if not indecent, no member of the opposition speaks without directly abusing lord Chatham, and no friend ever rises to take his part!—*qui non defendit alio culpante*, is scarce a degree less black, than, '*absentem qui rodit amicum.*' Is it possible that such a man is without a friend?" "

Such was the earl's indignant commentary in his early correspondence with Mr. Flood.

An eminent writer says—"The reader will be surprised to hear that upon that very question of reform (which he condemns in his book) Mr. Hardy spoke and voted with the right honorable mover." When he, therefore, proceeded to stigmatize the "approvers of the measure, he must have been marvelously candid, or very forgetful."

In his life of Charlemont, he draws his party, standing out, as it were, in bold relief, while figures less

agreeable are faintly out-lined, or totally omitted. Often he seems to emulate the sophists in the decline of eloquence in Greece,—his blandishments and hyperboles are so disproportionate to many of his favorites, that they remind one of the fife-player of Sophocles, who used to inflate his cheeks to blow into a small instrument.

The sources whence these memorials are drawn may be enumerated. The letters of lord Charlemont to Mr. Flood form a very essential contribution; they display the amiable and patriotic virtues of the noble correspondent, in a more attractive form than have yet been presented to public admiration. He writes, in one of them, when his political aspirations were high:—

"Farewell, my best of friends, let us keep up that true and firm foundation of friendship, the *idem valle atque idem nolle;* and while there are yet *two* who prefer the public interest to their own, I will not despair of the republic."

Familiar letters, written by men of elevated rank who were conspicuous in the arena of contentious politics, have been invested with eminent literary value from the time of Cicero and Atticus, to that of Bolingbroke and Swift. They, in fact, give the real motives which actuated the writers, too frequently left to crude and

imperfect conjecture, or to the mercy of a political opponent. The correspondence embodied in this work extends over no less than thirty years.

The senatorial disquisitions on state affairs are taken from the "parliamentary debates;" a work scarce, and difficult to be found complete.

To major sir James Cauldwell, the first eminently gifted reporter, I am indebted for the earliest notice of the Irish commons—he confined his attention to the most eminent men, on leading subjects of debate. Seldom, indeed, has the glittering garb of Bellona mantled, in modern times, so much ability and acquirement. The earl of Rosse has left the public an admirable treatise of the ancient literature of Ireland,* wherein Mr. Flood's comprehensive views are eloquently unfolded. The noble lord commemorated the character of his venerated friend when the acerbity of faction knew no limits,—the tomb had lost its sacredness.

The editors of the Dublin University Magazine have paid homage to the great men of the last century, by introducing graphic notices of their public services. That periodical has presented to its readers sketches, which, like the cartoons of the great masters, possess

* Defence of Ireland.

all the bold configuration of the celebrated originals; they recall to the mind the lofty conceptions, the impassioned eloquence, the varied learning, the philosophy of what is noble and transcendant in our nature. If I could express a compliment worthy of those who have raised the national literature to a point of distinction equally honorable to their country and to themselves, I would embrace this occasion.

The principal public characters of the Irish commons, which are introduced, are taken, for the most part, from a valuable little work, written by Mr. Scott, M.A. of Dublin University. His cognomen "Beau Myrtle," will bring to the minds of many his celebrity for Attic wit, and powers of delineation.

"The Original Letters," form the illustration and versification of several remarkable incidents in the life of Mr. Flood. This collection is the *tanquam tabula naufragiæ* of the many valuable manuscripts that ought to be the property of the literary world.

That Mr. Flood made a translation of the famous oration of Demosthenes is well known to several now living; his imitations of Pindar were extolled as worthy of a mind highly favored for the sublime of lyric composition. It is with great regret that I have not been enabled to give a more satisfactory account of his

"literary remains." The censure justly falls on his testimental executors, who should have been more solicitous about the papers of so remarkable a man, whether viewed as a statesman, or as a man of letters.

It would little become the biographer of Mr. Flood to condescend to pander to the political prejudices that govern the public mind at present. I disclaim the sentiment. While I have endeavoured to infuse into my humble performance the spirit that animated the epocha of the Irish revolution, I have done no more than was consistent with the enlarged views, and elevated character of the individual most prominent on the scene. The state of the kingdom is, in every political sense, dissimilar. Mr. Flood never entertained the doctrine of a union of legislatures; the measures he propounded were in consideration of Ireland being capable of legislating for herself, and by a verisimilitude of institutions and laws, to have as close a fœderation of interests, as it was possible to reciprocally enjoy, by the incorporation of the representative assemblies. Peace or war, treaties of commerce, or treaties of conquest, pertained to the first estate. These were the concurrent sentiments of Charlemont, Brownlow, and Grattan.

Rumour had first assigned the task of biographer to the present earl of Rosse, from his friendship with Mr. Flood in his latter days, his acquaintance with the interesting politics of that period, and his distinction as a man of letters. It is much to be regretted by the literary public that his lordship has not found time for the undertaking.

Mr. Commissioner Burrowes was likewise named: and I regret to find he relinquished a performance to which he was so capable of doing ample justice; not more from his comprehensive mind, than his ingenuous nature. Therefore it was with much hesitation, doubt, and anxiety, that I undertook the compilation. I was impelled by a generous motive rather than an idea of my own capability. Some little encouragement was extended to me by some periodicals and literary men of consideration, partly from my diligence in collecting materials, and partly from the success of an essay which I published when engaged with the active duties of a military life.*

Should my efforts obtain the indulgence and approbation of my readers, a second volume may be expected to follow.

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* "A sketch of the military and political state of Prussia," on the idea of "a sketch of Russia," by sir Robert Wilson.

Great men are contemporary with every age, every country, and every individual of elevated mind. It is from the bright examples of the *past*, that good citizens, and eminent statesmen are prepared for the *present*. Are Plutarch's characters studied with less admiration and instruction—are their virtues and vices less known; is the lustre of their actions less useful in exciting a noble emulation in the senate, the camp, and the forum, because these great men are living only in the mind?

I have contemplated Mr. Flood as a man of genius, and a public character worthy of biography. Such was the sole motive which actuated me "to attend to the neglected, and remember the forgotten."

The portrait that is prefixed to this memoir is an admirable resemblance, on a reduced scale, of the painting of Mr. Flood in the University. He is represented in the spirited attitude which conveys the notion of "action," as applied by the Attic models of oratory.

Mr. Clayton has, in the finishing, far surpassed the harsh and uniform colouring of the University portrait. In that there is something austere and course in the lineaments, neither belonging to the features of the man, nor felicitously inventive in the painter.

Mr. Clayton has caught the likeness, while he has more softly finished it. Nor has the sketch suffered in passing through the lithographic press of Mr. Allen.

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MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF THE

RIGHT HON. HENRY FLOOD, M. P.

ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

page line
79, 15—*for* " Barateriana," *read* Baraterians.
137, 27—*for* " was considered," *read* were considered.
195, 11—*for* " he ultimate," *read* the ultimate.
226, 17—*for* " perpect," *read* perfect.
244, 2—*omit* " as."
244, 17—*for* " remuneration," *read* renunciation.

—Remarkable change when under the tuition of Dr. Markham.—His society with the learned Dr. Tyrwhit at Oxford.—His compositions.—Studies at the temple.—After seven years absence returns to Ireland.—He is elected member for the county Kilkenny, in 1759.—Cautious reserve at first.—He is re-elected in 1760.—Early instances of friendship of lord Wandesford and of lord Charlemont.—His marriage to lady Frances Maria Beresford.—Letter from William Annesley, viscount Glerawley.—Poems.—Death of the lord chief justice.

HASTED,* in his history of Kent, gives an account of the ancient lineage of this family, with its various ramifications; and doctor Playfair† has, more recently, introduced a notice of some of its members, in his large but unfinished publication.

* Hasted's History of Kent,—folio.

† Doctor Playfair's Family Antiquity.

CHAP. I.

The Kilkenny branch, which derives its origin from the Kentish line, has been seated in Ireland for nearly two hundred years. The progenitor of this family was sir Thomas Fludd (whose arms the descendants bear), of consideration in the time of the Tudors, and conspicuously so in the earlier part of the reign of Elizabeth. Sir Thomas was receiver general and treasurer at war to her majesty, and governor of the cinque ports, with many other distinctions. He likewise accompanied lord Willoughby with the English army sent to aid King Henry IV. of France.

The knight had two sons, Thomas and Robert, the elder inherited the property of Milgate in the parish of Bearstead, which he afterwards sold for a considerable sum, he was much in favor with King James, and obtained many marks of royal condescension. He changed the orthography of the name to the modern style, Flood, it having been previously written Fludd, probably from the Saxon derivative Flod. The younger son,* Robert, was remarkable for his eccentric philosophy, being a follower of Paracelcus. He travelled over the greater part of Europe, a very unusual tour at that period, and was well received by the learned, having taken two degrees at Oxford previous to his excursion.

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* Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary.

He wrote his dogmas in the Latin language, which Kepler and Menersius condescended to notice, and the latter thought some of them necessary to expose, by a particular confutation.* Major Francis Flood, who was lineally descended from the elder son of sir Thomas, was sent over to Ireland in the English horse, and was employed during the civil wars of the commonwealth, in 1647. He married Miss Warden, a young lady of remarkable beauty, only child of colonel Henry Warden, whose lineage is derived from the county of Suffolk. The colonel, besides his professional rank, was a member of parliament, and inherited from his father, John Warden, the baronial estate in the county Kilkenny, called Burnchurch. On the death of colonel Henry Warden this property devolved on his only child, who espoused major Francis Flood. There is an anecdote of some interest connected with this lady which may appropriately have place here ;—besides her personal attractions and whatever accomplishments that age could boast, she succeeded to considerable affluence, and her grandmother had taken the prudent forethought of betrothing her to her cousin, a young gentleman of the Cuffe family, but the beauty, heedless of this engagement, selected for herself, the gallant

* Examen Fluddanæ Philosophiæ.

CHAP. I.

English officer whom tradition says, was handsome, agreeable, and certainly appreciated her attachment. The grandmother of the fair prize was relict of John Warden, and she espoused, secondly, Agmondesham Cuffe,* who had acquired lands in the same county, adjoining Burnchurch, and was the father of the first baron Desart by this lady, daughter of sir John Otway.

Major Francis Flood, was the founder of the family in Kilkenny, and had seven sons and a daughter, who subsequently established themselves at Farmley, Polestown, and Floodhall. The first was the right-honourable Warden Flood, lord chief justice of the court of kings bench, eminent for his abilities and acquirements, having passed through the intermediate legal appointments till he arrived at a distinction never before conferred on an Irishman, as the bench and other high offices of state were reserved, anterior to that time, for members of the English bar, indeed, they were a part of the patronage of the minister. During his residence at the Temple, he formed an attachment for a Miss Whiteside, but of what family we are not in possession of any account.

It is certain, however, there were legal defects connected with her marriage, and the illegitimacy of her *eldest* child, was the opinion of a jury;

* Burke's Peerage, Desart.

beyond this fact we are unacquainted with any circumstance deserving place in this biography. The lord chief justice had a seat at the council board, and represented the borough of Callan when solicitor general.

The issue he had by this lady were, Henry, born in 1732, the subject of this memoir, Warden and Isabella; of these, the two latter died prematurely, and the eldest survived to be considered "one of the ablest men Ireland ever produced." Before devoting our pages more particularly to him, we may give a short account of some of the family who were in public life during the last century, and in a degree contemporaneous.

The first in lineal priority was sir Frederick Flood,* bart. of Newtown-Ormonde, in the county Kilkenny, nephew to the lord chief justice, being son of his next brother John, first of Floodhall,† he was a member of the Irish parliament for many years, and was a zealous supporter of his cousin in many of his political contests: he may be said to have been rather an efficient member than a brilliant one, and exerted himself in local matters and useful undertakings. He represented the

* Playfairs Family Antiquity.

† Sir Jonah Barrington has, in his "Personal Sketches," an absurd story about a speech made by Sir Frederick, but the inventive faculty of Sir Jonah, is too notorious to require a serious notice of his anecdotes.

CHAP. I.

county Wexford, of which he was *custos rotulorum*, in the imperial parliament: sir Frederick married twice—first, lady Julianna Annesley, and secondly, the honourable Miss Frances Cavendish. A brief sketch of a person who had been so many years in public life (upwards of forty years), may not be too great an intrusion, particularly as the sketch was composed by a man of abilities.

"Sir Frederick* was first known in Parliament as the friend and follower of his illustrious kinsman, Mr. Flood, and for years co-operated with him in all those measures that so justly exalted his reputation, and rendered his name dear to Irishmen. When Mr. Flood thought proper to join administration, the baronet was appointed a commissioner of the stamp office, and since that period he has generally supported the ministers, but without the furious zeal of a convert, or the impetuous ardour of a proselyte. His voice is far from good, and his elocution has a kind measured dignity and stately pomp, more suited, as we apprehend, to the judge than the senator; his language is plain, neither elevated nor figurative, but flowing evenly, it conveys his thoughts with sufficient clearness; his action has the common fault of most lawyers—

* Author of the "Principal Characters," &c.

that of being strongly tinctured with the ungraceful manner of the bar. In argument he is diffuse, and comprehensive; not without art and acuteness in the management of a debate, and well skilled where to advance with determination, and where to recede with prudence. The arrangement of his sentiments has commonly merit, as, though not strictly methodical, it is orderly and regular, and from thence each of them tends, to reflect light on the other, whilst the matter of his harangues deserves praise, being laboriously sought for, and carefully selected.

The next in lineal descent, was Warden Flood, judge of the high court of admiralty of Ireland, nephew to the lord chief justice, and member for Baltinglass, a doctor of laws, &c. The corporation of the city of Cork presented him with a gold box in testimony of their grateful sentiments for his exertions in behalf of the commercial interests of the kingdom, and of that part in particular. He inherited from his father Francis, the estate of Paulstown or Polestown. The castle, now in ruins, was once the possession of sir Richard Butler, knight, one of the Ormonde family, it afterwards passed to the Agars,* and lastly to Francis Flood, who married Miss Anne Hatton, sister

* Agar, Clifden family.

CHAP. I.

of colonel Henry Hatton, of Clonard, in the county Wexford, a descendant of sir Christopher Hatton; his eldest son was Warden, the judge, who married the sister of general O'Donevan.* His political character by the same master-hand,† informs us,—"From the very outset of his parliamentary career, he attached himself to his illustrious kinsman, and acquired some fame in the cause the other invariably pursued—the dignity and prosperity of Ireland. Appointed many years ago to an office under government, he has since abstained from all acrimonious altercations, or momentous contests. His voice is clear, sweet, and perfectly distinct, though somewhat hurt by a slight tendency to a lisp; with a sufficient, but not very extensive compass, its tones are always grateful to the ear, free from all harshness, and dissonance, and rudeness, and flowing in a dulcet stream of harmonious modulation. It is more adapted to persuade and conciliate, than to command or to agitate; his management of it is studiously directed to display all its advantages of which he seems not unconscious, no warmth of feeling or ardour of debate ever raising it beyond its proper pitch, and he preserves to it at all times that medium of tenor that exactly

* Burke's Commoners. † Author of the "Principal Characters."

accords with its prevailing character. Though not superiorly copious in a choice of words, he has a celerity in speaking that impresses common minds with an idea of quick conception, but is merely the effect of constant practice and daily habit; and hence his delivery, without being rapid or precipitate, is never dull or drawing. His manner, neither confident nor overbearing, is by no means diffident, it having an ample portion of self-possession, and that degree of modest assurance that appears to respect others, without forgetting himself."

He died towards the close of the last century, having been upwards of thirty years in parliament, and for a considerable time presided at the admiralty.

Another member of the family represented the borough of Knocktopher for a short time, at a much later period than those of whom a notice has been made. John Flood, second of Floodhall married Miss Aldworth of the county Cork, grand-daughter of sir Richard Aldworth, knight, provost marschal of Munster. Six members of the family were returned for counties or boroughs in Ireland.

The numerous anecdotes which give an interest to the boyhood of celebrated men, whose lives are interwoven either with the literature or politics of their age, are in some measure deficient in

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this biography. When the motive is exalted, it is meritorious to trace the early indications of genius, and to observe its brilliant cintilations in the spring-time, as well as its infirmities in the autumn, of life. There is another motive for recording the tales of early youth. It is often the lighter and more whimsical traits of character that are acceptable to the reader, which, when minutely and felicitously interspersed, contribute to delineate faithfully the individual.

In many instances of Mr. Flood's early life the writer had to depend on adventitious information, and after all pass with rapidity from infancy—almost with the omission of adolescence—to manhood, like a northern year in which Summer commences without the apparent quickening season of Spring.

The limited traditions which remain of Mr. Flood's domestic education only permit us to state, that it was committed to the care of attentive and capable persons, who directed his early habits with great assiduity, for he was prepared in all the rudiments of elementary knowledge antecedent to his being placed at a public school. He must have early developed quickness and extraordinary capabilities, for when he was sixteen he entered Trinity college, as a fellow-commoner. His father had the reputation of being a learned man, and probably was mindful

of the classic maxim, that the character of the after man mainly depends on early education, his son, therefore, soon acquired from habitude a careful and appropriate manner of expressing himself, of which he displayed the advantage, at a later period, both in composition and oratory.

The official occupation of solicitor general and member of parliament, required the constant attendance of his father in the metropolis, and it is more than probable that his youthful mind was too readily attracted by the amusements and gaieties of the capital, then the resort of the fashionable and best society in the kingdom, for we find his residence at the Irish* university was undistinguished by academical honors or studious habits, and his manners and appearance are the only circumstances for which he was then remarkable. After three years residence, he was removed to Christ-church, Oxford, and matriculated as a gentleman commoner, when he had little more than laid aside the prætexteral robe, being about nineteen years of age, and was placed under the very eminent preceptorship of Doctor Markham, afterwards elevated to the dignity of archbishop of York, whose kind and friendly attention called forth his most earnest acknowledgments, when his brilliant career

* Ryan's Worthies.

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enhanced the value of his sentiments. During his sojourn on the banks of the Isis, he developed enough of the extent and power of his mind to show it was of no ordinary mould.

His genius and character are finely alluded to by a master-hand,* whose delineation far surpasses any the writer could give, though drawn from the same sources of information. Here (Oxford), as in Dublin, gaiety was, for a season, the order of the day; but the mind of the future senator was rapidly ripening to a perception of his destiny, and he began to be conscious of the hidden treasures which he possessed in these mental powers which had hitherto been too much neglected.

The converse of the able men to whose society he was now admitted was calculated to awaken his latent powers, and at the same time to impress him with a conviction of his deficiencies. The learned Mr. Tyrwhit was one whose conversation he found particularly instructive, by whom he was stimulated to betake himself to close study, for the purpose of storing his mind with knowledge, without which, he saw it would be vain to expect to make a figure in the world. He found that those who met at the table of that accomplished scholar were all familiar with topics

* The Rev. Mr. Samuel O'Sullivan, in the University Magazine, for June, 1836.

of science and literature to which he was a total stranger, and he came to the noble resolution of burying himself amongst his books, until, by dint of application, he was qualified to converse with them on equal terms. The learned gentleman and his friends were in the habit of having evening discussions on subjects to which their high attainments gave additional lustre, this so heightened the ambitious ardour of their youthful associate that he preserved an almost total silence in their company, till his assiduous reading enabled him to participate. To attain this honor he is represented* to have devoted himself to a course of mathematics and logic to which, it may be presumed, the faculties of his mind gave him facility, judging from his raciosination in which he employed the "*enthymema*," a mode of argumentation, by suppressing one of the members of the syllogism, that was more adapted for a learned audience than a mixed assembly. Simultaneously with the severer studies, he read such of the Greek and Roman authors as he had not before perused. And it is a remarkable fact, worthy of record here, that such was the effect of the salutary example of having daily intercourse with learned men, that from this time to his death he constantly employed his leisure in recurring to classical

* Obituary of considerable persons. Gentlemen's Magazine, 1991.

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literature, and it is recorded that he read Greek with the same ease as English.

He took his degree, as bachelor of arts, after a residence of two years, as a gentleman commoner, at Christ-church, during which time he composed his first poetical production, entitled, "Verses on the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales," published in the Oxford collection of 1751. At a later period an ode on Fame, and a translation of the first Pythian ode of Pindar, which were in private circulation. The orations of Demosthenes and Æschines for the crown, and some of the brilliant efforts of Cicero were translated by him when he first entered on his parliamentary career. In this he seems to have followed the plan laid down by the eloquent Roman for himself, who transfused into his own language the most renowned specimens of Grecian oratory. Thus it may be remarked here, as it has been in other instances, "that genius attracts and assimilates to itself whatever is valuable either in the pursuits of literature or the productions of art."*

He now enjoyed a university reputation which must have been gratifying as a prognostic of his future fame. His fellow students looked on him as a man of no ordinary promise, and those who

* Roscoe, in Lorenzo.

were competent from closer intimacy to form a more accurate judgment, regarded him as qualified to take a foremost station in any department of science or literature, to which he might choose to devote the faculties of his mind. "But there were very few men," says an eloquent and philosophic authority,* "of whom it might be so truly said, that they seemed equally qualified for succeeding in such a variety of different, and even opposite, pursuits,—had he applied his powers to history he would have been a first-rate historian,—had he chosen to fill a professors chair, whether of mathematics, moral philosophy, or modern or ancient languages, there were few who could have illustrated the several subjects that might come under his review with more clearness, more elegance, or more perspicuity. And the ardour of his temperament as well as the energy and determination of his character, gave him such a command over the sentiments and the convictions of those with whom he conversed, as naturally begat the persuasion that his influence would be equally powerful if he once obtained a seat in parliament."

After he left Oxford he went to the Temple. The profession of the law, was always highly esteemed in Ireland, as qualifying the mind either for the bench or the senate, and to the highly

* The Rev. Samuel O'Sullivan.

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gifted, it offered the combination of emolument and fame; but when the accumulation of wealth was not the guiding and paramount sentiment, at least, jurisprudence was a noble and necessary acquisition to senatorial distinction. The lord chief justice had ample means to render his son independent of the trammels of a profession; he wisely obliged him to pursue the devious and difficult course of forensic learning; the great advantages of which he manifested in the discussion of some of the delicate questions of that period.

From the completion of his academical course to the time he left England, was about seven years, passed chiefly in the agreeable society of the remarkable personages of the day, and where he first met lord Charlemont, who had returned from his extensive travels in Europe, with the celebrated Murphy, the noble lord's tutor. Occasionally Mr. Flood relieved his other occupations by the attractive one of poetry: he drank deeply of Pirene's fount, and courted the Muses in many fugitive pieces, among others an ode on Hampden. Whatever tendency he had to this delightful branch of literature, he cultivated with care; even amidst the turbulent course of Irish politics he was not unmindful of this taste, as we shall find constant allusions and compliments to his muse, in letters which are interspersed in this volume.

He was seven and twenty when he returned to Ireland, to stand forward as the representative of his county, (Kilkenny,) for which he was duly elected. And without drawing any comparison, it is a curious coincidence in the lives of great men, that in the same period of life "the two most renowned orators of Greece and Rome, figured on the public stage of the world, as if in geniuses of the first magnitude, *that* was the proper season of blooming towards maturity."*

He entered on his parliamentary career at the close of the reign of George the second, and during the administration of the duke of Bedford in Ireland. The short time that intervened before the dissolution, occasioned by the death of that monarch in the following year, scarcely gave him an opportunity of addressing the house; and as some expectation was formed of his oratorical qualifications, it evinced judgment in so young a member abstaining from any display, or inviting the attention of the house, till he had a subject of sufficient interest for that purpose. He took his seat on the opposition side, and remained an observer more sedulous of acquiring a knowledge of the rules and forms of parliamentary procedure, and an acquaintance with the

* Dr. Middleton.

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opinions of certain politicians—the only way, in those days, when the debates were not published—than anxious to push himself on the notice of the house unopportunely: probably from a just notion of the value of first impressions, which, on so many occasions in public as in private, influence the destiny of the individual.

The new parliament received him a member re-elected for the same county, and the two following letters from lords Charlemont and Wandesford evince the warmth of such friends: but the latter marks clearly how the interest in the county was divided at that time, and the cordial support he received from the Butlers.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"My dearest Flood,

"I have succeeded in your commission just as I would always wish to do in your service. Inclosed you have two letters from lord Wandesford which will, I hope, ensure your success, and to-morrow he sets out for Castlecomer. He gives you both his voices, though he fears that lord Mountgarrett may be so piqued by his so doing, that he may be induced to join with the speaker;* so that you accept of his two voices at your own hazard.

"I have often inquired about *Rawlings*, but he is as yet out of town. I shall, however, constantly inquire after him, and

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* Mr. Ponsonby.

endeavour to secure him. I have declined Armagh, for reasons which I shall tell you when we meet. No more now, as I must not detain your express.

"Your's most faithfully,

"CHARLEMONT."

LETTER FROM LORD WANDESFORD.

"*Dublin, Sunday, three o'Clock.*

"DEAR SIR,

"I had the honor of seeing lord Charlemont this morning, who gave me your letter, and also Messrs. Burke and Hobson's. I should have answered your former letters, but I was so uneasy in my mind about my children, that I really could not think of it, which I hope you will excuse.

"It has given me great pleasure to hear of your success in the county, and I flatter myself you will have greater yet. As you was the first friend that applied to me in opposition to the speaker and Agar, particularly the latter, I certainly must support you with all my weight, and I flatter myself lord Mountgarrett will give you all his interest also, which will effectually destroy the combined interest in our county.

"If there is a possibility of serving Mr. Butler on this occasion, I should be very glad of it; but I fear the speaker is too strong for us: you are the best judge of that. What have you done with old Agar? I fear he will go against you; but he will give all his interest to Mr. Butler. I would have you consult lord Mountgarrett upon that head: he has great influence over him.

"I hope to see you on Tuesday, if possible, in Kilkenny.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your sincere well wisher, &c.

"WANDESFORD."

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He addressed the house from the opposition side on the national embarrassments, which demanded the most serious consideration of the legislature. In this speech he is represented to have expressed himself with pointed energy on the measures and policy of the lord primate Stone, who had exercised an unbounded sway, not more by his abilities than the blandishments of his manners and the profusion of his patronage. In the council chamber every measure was propounded before being introduced to the commons, where the influence of his grace secured its adoption. To this system Mr. Flood directed the poignancy of his sarcasm, which excited the ire of the primate, unaccustomed as he was to any language not laudatory of his government: and the bitterness and versatility of his grace's sentiments are preserved in a trite anecdote. It was however the scathing of the venerable oak by ætherial fire,—the branches were shattered and withered, but the trunk remained uninjured. He lived to direct the councils of Ireland for three years more, before death removed him from the scene of his evanescent powers. Possessed of a genius and an ambition like Wolsey he exercised them on a more limited and less conspicuous sphere.

In this year, Mr. Flood married lady Frances Maria Beresford, with whom he obtained a

considerable accession of fortune, and one of the most powerful connexions in Ireland. On his marriage, Mr. William Annesley, (afterwards created viscount Glerawley, married to lady Anne Beresford,) wrote to his new brother-in-law the following advice:—

LETTER* FROM WILLIAM ANNESLEY, ESQ.

"*Castle-Wellan.*

"I THINK, I may venture to say with certainty, that neither you nor Frances imagine my wife or I, want any inclination to pay our respects to you wherever you are, and therefore, I shall only tell you the true reason why we cannot have that pleasure this summer. I am engaged in a very heavy mass of buildings, a market house for the use of the people who attend this place every Monday, and eight houses in the town, all of which I intend to finish, if possible, before I leave this for any time together; these buildings, I expect, will be the means of making Castle-Wellan a comfortable country village.

"From your letter, I guess, you are entering on a new scene—a country life—quite different from what has hitherto opened to you, and if I am to form the same judgment of you as of myself, I think you will find a country life a much more pleasant and agreeable way of life, than that uncertainty, difficulties and disappointments, of a political one, which is generally attended with uncertainty, and often with very disagreeable disappointments.

"If, hitherto, you have not had it in your power to taste the sweets of a country life (not having had a place of your

* The present earl Annesley, had the kindness to give me this letter.

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own to amuse yourself at,) the case is now altered. You are now in possession of what before you had only the prospect of,—a wide difference with respect to thinking and acting—politics and books though they relish well, yet without other associations become languid and insipid. Variety is by most people thought agreeable, and I have almost brought myself to be of opinion, that the best *farmer* may be the best *commonwealth's man;* for the best politician will see nature in the country and will improve upon it. He will converse with a different class of his fellow creatures, from those he meets in what he calls 'the world.' He will learn to know himself—*the first object that every man* ought to have in his mind. In a country life he will have frequent, almost daily, opportunities of judging of men and of things from what falls within his own knowledge. I have no doubt but your good sense and disposition will receive much more benefit and advantage from such observations than I have.

"I do sincerely wish you success in all your undertakings and with our good wishes to you and Fanny, your

"Affectionate brother, and

"Most obedient servant,

"Wm. Annesley."

This recommendation of a country life from a man of abilities and experience to the young politician, was admirably calculated to check his ardor; and he seems to have librated in the balance of destiny, till his acquaintance with lord Charlemont determined him, in favor of the scale in which politics with all their brilliant chimeras were placed.

The vicissitudes of nearly thirty years after that letter, might have induced him to write over his portal, as did the hero of La Sage,—

"Inveni portum.—Spes et Fortuna valete!
Sat me lusistuis, ludete nunc alios."

In consequence of his marriage, the lord chief justice settled the whole of his estates on him, and his fortune was increased by the bequest of his uncle, and other accessory circumstances.

He now took up his residence at Farmley, a small but agreeable seat, not perhaps, extensive enough for his plans and pursuits, such, however, as formed a pleasant retreat from the cares and duties of parliament. It was here that the amateurs of dramatic literature met and gave an example which was successfully followed many years afterwards in Kilkenny, where the histrionic taste and talents of a Becher, a Power, and a Rothe were rendered more attractive by the presence of Miss O'Neil. In fact the traditions,—for they are so to the writer,—of those days form a brilliant and delightful retrospective view, when contrasted with the political perplexities, and the rise or ruin of families,—when unanimity and friendly intercourse of society were in unison with the proverbial hospitality and intellectual pre-eminence of the county. The theatre, which once contained the gay and the accomplished, is now a mart of miscellaneous furniture without a

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vestige, except the wooden walls, to remind an observer of the famed amateurs of the sock and the buskin.

Mr. Flood laid the foundation of this taste, then novel in Ireland, which had such repute, subsequently. At the time to which we have just alluded, he certainly was more distinguished for classical pursuits,—those favourite studies which we trace in the correspondence of his literary friends,—than settled political opinions regarding beneficial acts for Ireland. The warmth of his fancy, and the cultivation of his mind, perhaps, gave him a bias for poetry, that species, too, in which the boldest figures are permitted—the lyric seemed to have been most congenial. He wished to make his habitation in the country a sort of Tusculum where he might relax from the occupations of the senate, and to associate with Leland, and Vallancy, and Burke, and Charlemont, all votaries of the Muses, "and whose medals the swans of Lethe have caught, and carried to the consecrated Fane."*

This is the time, when he made a systematic application of the rules and instructions of Quintilian, and followed the practice which Cicero relates of himself,—that of transferring the most beautiful passages of the ancient authors into his

* Lord Bacon.

own language, and constantly keeping in view, the qualifications set forth, as necessary to form the complete orator. "*Nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatis orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum, atque artium scientiam consecutus.*"

The following ode which was printed for private circulation, conveys a very favourable impression of his poetic fancy, and may properly be placed at the close of this chapter, with a letter from one of his literary friends.

"AN ODE ON FAME.

I.

"O MIGHTY FAME!
Thou for whom Cæsar, reckless,* fought,
And Regulus his righteous suffering sought;
What can the sense of mortals tame,
And Nature's deepest murmurings hush,
That thus on Death they rush?
That horror thus and anguish they controul,
Touched by thy airy power, that lifts the daring soul?

II.

The Indian on the burning iron bound,
By busy torturers compassed round,
Beholds thee, and is pleased;
And, with a towering frenzy seized,

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* Reckless.—*Per fas et nefas.*

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Tells them they know not how to kill;
Demands a torment fit for men to feel,
And dictates some fierce pang, some more envenomed wound.

III.

The female spirit, still,
And timorous of ill,
In softest climes, by thy commanding will,
Dauntless can mount the mournful pyre,
Where a dead husband waits the funeral fire.
No unbecoming human fear
The exalted sacrifice delays;
In youth, in beauty's flow'ring year,
Serene, she mingles with the blaze,
Beholds, unmoved, the gazers' bosoms heave,
And takes, without a tear, her consecrated leave.

IV.

The hall of Odin rang—
Amidst the barbarous clang
Of boastful chiefs and dire alarms,
The warrior hears thy magic cry,
Thundering, "To arms, to arms."
Struck by the sound, behold him fly
O'er the steep mountain's icy bar,
And drive before him Shout and Pain,
And Slaughter mad, the dogs of war;
Then, of his bootless trophies vain,
Back to the hall of Death return,
And brood upon the name which his wide ruins earn.

V.

The orator renowned,
Foe to tyrannic outrage blind,
At whose dread voice stood Macedon astound;
What moved his mighty mind?

He saw the Græcian genius braved,
And his own Athens half enslaved;
Beset by woes,
By base, domestic, treasonous foes,
And overwhelmed by arms:
Amidst these congregated harms,
He meditates the proud relief of death;
And, whilst the future he surveyed,
Thus bursts into prophetic breath:
" My deeds shall sound
" Through all the wondering nations round,
" Wherever freedom's honours shall be found,
" And all my present ills shall be by Fame o'erpaid."

VI.

Long on the watery waste Columbus hung,
When Nature now, with boding tongue,
Seemed to pronounce his doom!
Famine smote the blasted crew—
Portentous tides beneath him flew—
Her aid the astonished card withdrew:
And rushing to an untrod grave,
Desperate, he seemed the abyss to brave
Of Ocean's wild, immeasurable womb.

VII.

Rescued, at length, from Ruin's ways,
In vain Iberia's thankless shores he sought,
And a new world in triumph brought.
Envy, her slanders lewdly brays;
His godlike toil, a ruffian train betrays.
Pensive he paused——dejected for mankind,
And half his lofty thought resigned;
When glory beamed upon his mind,

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And bade him ne'er bow down to sleep,
Till o'er the vast Atlantic deep
His sails adventurous he again unfurled,
And snatched a deathless name from his recovered world.

VIII.

Brief is the frame of mortal birth:
Wherefore the unsubmitting mind
Less brooks to pass forgotten into earth;
And, whilst to anxious doubt inclined,
It longs for some ætherial scope
Whereon to rest the aspiring hope,
FAME cries from heaven, "BE BRAVE;
"DARE GREATLY, AND THY NAME SHALL LIVE,
"AND THOU UPON THE TONGUES OF MEN SURVIVE,
"THOUGH DEATH SHOULD SHUT THEE UP IN AN ETERNAL GRAVE."

IX.

Hence that unquenched lust,
In noblest minds the noblest deeds to dare;
That, should they sink in dust,
Their memory may renounce this fleeting doom;
And, shaking off the tomb,
May wander through the living air,
And traverse earth with their renown,
And eternize their date by an immortal crown.

LETTER FROM W. BLAKENEY, ESQ.

"DEAR FLOOD,

"WEBB is loud in praise of your odes: what, alas! shall Blakeney say? His voice is much too low for fame; he must content himself with

Praises not loud but deep, which the poor tongue
Would fain proclaim, but cannot.

Yet let me whisper,

(Flacco etiam invito) tibi contigit Pindarum æmulari penna parum solubili.

"Pray tell lady Frances (with my best respects) that Mr. Mason makes a very good report of her young favourite,

Vale ac vive!
Memor acta non alio rege puertiæ
Mutatæque simul togæ.

W. B.
Scriptus et in tergo.

"I beg leave to send a note upon a line of Pope, in which the lord bishop of Gloucester seems to have imitated the punctuation, style, and spirit of alderman Faulkner more happily than any of the moderns:—

Half froth, half venom, spits himself abroad.*
Ep. to Arbuthnot, 320 *line.*

"I shall set out for Dublin on the 15th of next month. May I pass a week in Dominick-street before I go to Farmley?

"W. Blakeney.

"*Bath, 3d July.*" "Scriptus et in tergo."

In this (1764) year his father died at an advanced age. The official situation of lord chief justice of the court of king's bench, he retained till his demise.

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* Alluding to those frothy excretions called by the people Toad-spits, seen in summer time hanging upon plants, and emitted by young insects which lie hid in the midst of them, for their preservation, while in their helpless state.

CHAP. II.

From 1764 to 1768.

Social state of the kingdom.—Evils caused by misgovernment.—Mr. Fitzgibbon's description of the peasantry.—Mr. Flood's of the courtiers.—Mr. Flood's defence of the liberty of the press.—His efforts for the limitation of parliament, and three other important measures.—Correspondence with Mr. Pitt, (lord Chatham), Mr. Burke and lord Charlemont.—Character of Charlemont.—His comparison of the oratory of lord Mansfield and Mr. Pitt.—Character and anecdotes of Mr. Hutchinson.—Sir William Osborne's character of Mr. Perry and Mr. Flood.—"The flying squadron."

CHAP. II.

The acts of successive administrations had given an arbitrary character to the statute-book, which changed the assimilated charter* granted by Henry the second to the assembled ecclesiastics and dignitaries of the nation at Cashel, to an instrument of oppression. Before the Elizabethan era had closed, the constitution existed but in name;† and the inhabitants of the soil were degraded, without the craft and cunning of an eastern tribe, to a state little better than "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

To trace with a transient pencil the moral and political state of Ireland from the era of the new

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* Molyneux. † Phil. Survey.

reign, to the acquisition of the octennial bill, will not be inconsistent with the objects of this biography.

The kingdom was in the extreme of poverty* and degradation at the close of the reign of George the second, arising from a misconception of the extent of its resources, by the British cabinet, and the supineness of the national parliament to make these difficulties known. The accumulation of debt was only equalled by inconsiderate profusion. The loans required by the exigencies of the state augmented the former, and the facile and ignorant acquiescence of the commons, the latter.† The establishments, civil, military, and pensionary were onerous for a country so impoverished—the pensions alone amounted to a very considerable‡ item,—these rendered taxation oppressive, and all combined, lent a pretext to turbulance, and extended impunity to the promoters of insurrection long after foreign hostility had fled the coast. The people of Ireland, shaded by the gloom of intermittant storms, were easily excited to discontent and alarm. And for a time they wandered in darkness and calamity, "without the word as a lantern unto their feet and a light unto their paths."

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* Gordon's History, vol. ii. † Caldwell's Reports. ‡ 72,000.

CHAP. II.

Amid the complexity of events* foreign and domestic, it would be calumnious to assume that ministers were exclusively indifferent to the embarrassments of Ireland. Statesmen, however gifted with public virtue and ability to govern, were unable, at once, to counteract them. For, in the words of an able historian,† "it is the misfortune of those who are concerned in conducting human affairs, that, however pure and capacious their own conceptions may be, they must accommodate themselves to the circumstances with which they are environed, and *use the instruments within their reach.*"—The taint of corruption had infested the majority of the national legislature, and the population remained in ignorance of the advantages of civilized life.

As the governors were not residents, but visiters, their titles form but a nomenclature in the history of Ireland, for their policy (flagicious as it may have been in former periods), neither belonged to one party nor another, but was the uniform tenor of domination. Votes of credit to a large amount —an increase of the military establishment—an increase of the viceregal grant—and immoderate addition of pensions, formed the most prominent acts of five administrations in Ireland.

To descend from the vicious features of polity which are the enduring, and therefore historical,

* Belsham, vol. III. † Godwin Com. vol. 1.

points for contemplation, we have the fervid and eloquent description of a witness to the country's social condition, humiliating as it was true :—

*" It is always with regret that I discover the nakedness of my country, but on this occasion I ought not to hide it. Upon this occasion I must remind you, that Ireland is not more than one-third peopled; our trade lies under such disadvantages that two-thirds of the population are unemployed, and are, consequently, condemned to the most deplorable indigence; a state that cannot fail to render them wretched in proportion as the luxury of a few has multiplied artificial wants, but of which they have no further knowledge than just serves to excite envy and discontent. We have neither foreign trade nor home consumption sufficient to distribute the conveniencies of life among us with a reasonable equality, nor sufficient to pay any tax proportioned to our number.

"This island is supposed to contain three millions: of these, two live like the beast of the field, upon a root picked out of the earth, almost without hovels for shelter or clothes for covering. What must become of a nation in this situation, which at the same time is contracting a debt which must every year increase, by a very considerable excess its expenses above its income? What method can be found to prevent the ruin of a state in which these evils not only continue, but increase?

" What mode of taxation can be devised?—Shall we tax leather where no shoes are worn, or tallow where no candles are burned? What tax can be devised on the necessaries of life where they consist wholly of *roots and water?*"

Mr. Flood's description of the courtiers may appropriately follow Mr. Fitzgibbon's† state of the people.

* Caldwell's Reports.

† This Mr. Fitzgibbon was father to lord Clare.

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"Sir, it must give every member of this house the highest satisfaction to reflect that we now meet freed and disencumbered from the apprehensions under which we suffered the beginning of the last session. We have also the happiness of being acquainted with the dispositions of each other, so that no requisite is wanting for the mature consideration of what may be most for the advantage of our country, independant of every other object. It is, however, a melancholy reflection, that those who distinguish themselves by their independence, disinterestedness, and public spirit; those who make the advantage of their country their only object, are, too often, branded with the name of 'faction,' and, under that approbrious appellation, held forth to public obloquy and reproach, merely because they will not concur with the mean, interested, and selfish views of those who implicitly adopt the measures of a court, that they may themselves become the objects of court favor. But, whatever designing knavery may pretend or thoughtless ignorance admit, the word '*faction*,' as a term of reproach, may justly be retorted upon those by whom it is so liberally bestowed on others. They are certainly a faction, in this sense, who unite upon any selfish or contracted view, against the public or general interest, whether they are many or few. Those who injudiciously endeavour to extend the prerogative under the spacious pretence of supporting it, those who encourage the exercise of unconstitutional power, assumed by a minister under the colour of strengthening the hands of government, and those who concur in the distribution of pecuniary gratifications to individuals, at the expense of the nation, as a compliment to royal munificence,—those, and those only, deserve to be stigmatized with the name of 'faction.' It is certain, indeed, that they do not more mistake their own true interest, than the true interest of those in whose measures they implicitly concur. As the supreme and only real happiness and honor of the prince are derived wholly from the freedom, wealth, and happiness of his people; so the happiness and honor

of a minister, if he may be truly so called,—are nothing more than the reflected honor and happiness of his prince; so true it is, that Providence has made the real happiness of the individual depend upon the same conduct that produces the happiness of the whole. That every vice is manifestly a folly, and he who sacrifices the interest of his country, its freedom, independance, or wealth, to any private advantage for himself, his family, or his friends, eventually betrays the very individuals he would serve, by taking away what is of infinitely more value than he can give. For what, in the estimation of honesty and reason, can be equivalent to a common interest in those invaluable blessings that distinguish a free people? God forbid that I should renounce or disparage the forcible yet tender ties of personal friendship, parental affection, or ingenuous gratitude! Permit me to say, that no man in this house is more under the influence of these attachments than myself; no man has a more ardent love for his friend, a stronger sense of obligation, nor warmer passions. Nor do I dream that any man is bound to love those whom he has never seen more than these who are endeared to him by the ties of nature and of blood; much less, that he can love the public who do not love his relations and his friends, which must make, to every one not devoid of humanity, the most endearing part of it; but, I say, that he only pursues the true interest of his friends and his relations, who concurs in every measure to secure to them that upon which every other blessing depends—freedom and independance—without which neither labor is profitable nor rest sweet; without which gold is not wealth, nor titles honor!

"The narrow-minded, selfish court sycophant, who, in the wickedness of his folly sacrifices the many to the few, does, in fact, sacrifice the few with the many; and does nothing more than involve those for whom he is willing to betray his country in the ruin which his treachery is bringing upon it. The fool of court faction is like those who employ him—the dupe of his own cunning and the scourge of his own vice. The nameless

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vermin that court sunshine quickens in the slime of venality will soon find that the same influence which produced, will destroy them; when the moisture of that dirt in which they crawl is a little farther exhaled, they will find it stiffening about them—they will first be deprived of motion, then of life, and the next wind will sweep them away with the dust in which they perished!

"It is not, indeed, strange, that remote should be sacrified to immediate good, when the temptation strikes strongly upon the sense, and the principles both of virtue and of wisdom, by which it can be resisted, are wanting. But it is strange, and not less deplorable, that in this country, many should be found who sacrifice their chief interest to a subordinate one, still more remote and precarious, who give away their share in the public prosperity, not for immediate riches and titles, but for mere names and shadows—for promises never meant to be fulfilled: for painted vapours which appear solid only by their distance, which float in airy regions where they can never be approached and which vanish for ever with the light that gilds them!

"Nay, in this age of vanity and dissipation, men are corrupted even by less than a promise, a trivial compliment, a familiar and gracious smile, or an extended hand are deemed valuable considerations for those inestimable blessings which our forefathers procured us at the expense of treasure, of ease, of health and even of life itself. While this infatuation spreads among us, and its effects are proportionally more extensive and more alarming, it behoves those who are not yet circumscribed with the enchanted circle—those who have still the use of unperverted reason, and who still estimate the blessings of life by their just value, to exert themselves in behalf of their native country, and, like its guardian angel, 'watch over it for good.' They are deeply concerned in its particular welfare as distinct from other parts of the British dominions; they are acquainted with its true interest and know how it is to be pursued, which cannot be the case with those who honor us with their company from the other side of the water.

"This tender—this jealous vigilance is still more necessary as it is not our happiness to have a native prince to wield a sceptre among us, but must appear to our sovereign as we are represented by others, and receive the benefits of his administration, not directly, but as it were, by *reflection*."

The liberty of the press was, at this period, shackled and restrained with many impediments. The debates in parliament were unreported, and even notes were forbidden, as against the rules of the house; all besides the ministers and members were, not only totally uninformed on the progressive subjects of legislation during the session, but commentaries, indirectly made on the capacity of members, or public functionaries, were punished by arraignment at the bar of the commons. The case of Wilson, a printer, cannot be considered unimportant, since lord Bacon says, "*maxima è minimis suspendens*."

Mr. Fortescue, a gentleman of consideration, moved in the house of commons, "that the printer of the 'North Briton,' be committed to Newgate prison." The motion was sustained by a minister, and a person of great notoriety at the time, the venerable Anthony Malone, a privy councellor, and chancellor of the Irish exchequer, whose character has been figuratively expressed, "he was a great sea in a calm," in his decrepitude; "but a great sea in a storm," in the energy of his youth. On this occasion, he used

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all the sophistry that his earlier and later years had acquired, to attach the signification of "defamatory libel," to the cited article of the "North Briton," which he represented as reflecting on the character of the individual, and on the honor and dignity of parliament.

Wilson was arraigned at the bar of the house of commons, though in a delicate state of health, for a "heinous offence against the character of a representative." Several, besides Mr. Malone, were for committing him to Newgate; fortunately for the man, and the freedom of the press, there was one young champion ready to avow his dissent from such doctrines, and who obtained the compliments of the venerable senator, even in the unpopular seat of the opposition.

"Mr. Flood rose and said—'Mr. Speaker, the right honorable gentleman has in a very ingenious manner twined and twisted the paragraph in question, to make it appear to be a libel; and I hope that I may be allowed to try if I cannot twine and twist it till it appears not to be a libel. The 'NORTH BRITON,' sir, whatever its merit or demerit as to its principles and tendency, is universally admitted to be the performance of a person who has acquired a habit of writing, an ability of expressing sentiment clearly, correctly and forcibly; and this, sir, is an ability very different from quickness of conception, soundness of judgment, or any other natural faculty of the mind. Sir Arthur Brooke, therefore, may be a gentleman of very quick conception, very sound judgment, and even extensive knowledge, and yet may not have acquired the knack of writing in the same degree as the author of the 'North

Briton.' To say, therefore, that he had not *literary* ability for a work of that description, did not imply that he was deficient in understanding; nor is the mere want of *literary* ability a disgrace to gentlemen who have more important objects for their attention than *literary performances.*

"Suppose I should read some anonymous verses, and should say, I thought them as good as Mr. Pope's; and suppose somebody should add, they were written by sir Arthur Brooke, would it be deemed a reflection on his understanding if I should say, I did not think him capable of writing verse so well? I therefore can never consider the paragraph in question *a libel.* The right honorable gentleman has, indeed, inferred that it is a libel in the sense of the house, from the unanimous opinion of the members that it is a breach of privilege; and this inference would be just, supposing the paragraph to mention sir Arthur Brooke in his private capacity only, but the paragraph mentions him, with a sneer, in his political capacity as being one of the majority of this house; and I apprehend that the presuming to publish any inuendo with respect to the majority or minority of this house, is a breach of privilege, setting sir Arthur Brooke out of the question.

"I am extremely sorry to differ from the right honorable gentleman whose years, experience, and ability, must give great sanction to his construction of the words in question, but I thought it my duty to explain my own sense of them; and as in *my sense* they are not a libel, I shall never give my vote for sending the publisher to Newgate.

"Mr. Malone closed the debate in these words—'It is very indifferent in what sense the fire and imagination of that young gentleman may construe the words in question. His sense is contrary to mine, and I believe to that of every one else in this house. I am obliged to him for the compliments he paid my abilities; but, for my own part, I make no pretensions

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to any thing more than a little common sense, which naturally understands words in their common and natural signification. I shall, therefore, make no farther reply to what has been said, than to desire that the paragraph may be read, that every gentleman may judge for himself."

Mr. Flood concurred, and the house divided in favor of his opinion. This was an ovation for the young statesman on a momentous subject, contested by the most eminent member of the house.

"During the same session, Mr. Flood greatly distinguished himself by his efforts to limit the duration of parliament.* It could not, however, be expected that he should be, all at once, successful. The parties interested in the continuance of things upon their old footing which ensured a perpetuity of profitable abuses, were too numerous and too powerful to be suddenly overthrown; but through him the commons were every day rising in influence, and the liberal views and the manly reasonings of the patriot were sure, in the long run, to produce a result that would equal his most sanguine expectations. Until the duration of parliament should be limited, the constitutional connexion between the representative and the constituent could not be restored; and until that should be accomplished, it would be vain to

* Dublin University Magazine.

expect that the house of commons would sympathise with the awakening intelligence of the country."

So lightly and negligently was this important question treated by the adherents of government, that it was converted to a matter of jest and ridicule. "Mr. Owen Winne said 'it was a mere mouthful of moonshine, *ad captandum vulgus*,'* and sir Charles Coote said, he believed those who proposed the bill had got their dinners, and had the advantage over those who had been fasting all day.'"† Illustrative of the supineness of some members of the commons, one peculiar instance is given by an itinerant‡ philosopher, of a member who absented himself for seven years from his parliamentary duties, who at last reluctantly appeared at the summons of the speaker. From these anecdotes we may fairly appreciate the zeal, perseverance, and abilities of a few, in the lower house, who laid the foundation of that constitutional system which, for a time, Ireland enjoyed; but, like a brilliant coruscation, it was of passing endurance.

At the close of lord Hertford's administration, the four paramount considerations to which Mr. Flood gave up his time and mental labor to obtain, were,—the limiting the duration of

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* Reports. † Caldwell's Reports. ‡ Dr. Campbell.

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parliament,—the elucidation of "the law of sir Edward Poyning,"—the establishment of a constitutional militia,—"to prove that the constitution of parliament in the kingdom of Ireland did still exist."*

When we consider the complication of these subjects—the number of statutes to be explained or repealed—the new ones to be enacted—the power of *veto* assumed by the privy council of Ireland—the power of alteration in that of England—the numberless minor hindrances to direct and salutary legislation, we must confess it required a noble devotedness of mind, and an unremitting exertion to overcome them.

LETTER TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT.

"SIR,

"I know not how to apologise for this address, except I may be allowed to offer in excuse the nature of its subject, and the ardor of that admiration which I feel for the virtues, and for the abilities of the person to whom it is directed. Having had the honor to have been introduced to your knowledge last winter, by a letter from lord Grandison, and having then, in a conversation which I shall ever reflect upon with pride, heard you declare your sentiments upon the particular propriety of a militia law in this country, I determined to take the first opportunity of endeavouring to digest a

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* Vide, Case of Ireland.

bill upon that subject, founded on that law, which England owes to your wise and patriot perseverance, so far as it seemed capable of being adapted to this kingdom, and have obtained leave from the house of commons accordingly to prepare such a bill. It is unnecessary for me to say, that I should esteem it the greatest honor and felicity of my life, if, amidst the important concerns in which you are engaged, you would permit me, when the bill is printed, to lay at your feet this humble attempt, to which I have been excited by a love for my country, and a reverence for your great example. Far be from me the extravagance to imagine that it could merit your minute consideration; but if by the glance of a superior genius, you should perceive that there was nothing impracticable in it, it might perhaps induce an inquiry into its fate, if it should be transmitted to England, and procure its return to this country, if it should not be unworthy of it. Upon this principle it is that I have presumed so far; happy if here, or any where, I could have a share in promoting those wise and public spirited endeavours, which have so deservedly endeared and dignified your name.

"I have, sir, the honor to remain,

"With the profoundest respect,

"Your most humble, and most obedient servant,

"Henry Flood."

LETTER TO MR. FLOOD.

"Sir,

"The honor of your most obliging remembrance reached me just as I was leaving Bath, since which time much gout, and some business in the house of commons, have left me but little in condition to write: it is with great satisfaction

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that I now beg leave to express, though late, the true sense I have of the very flattering sentiments you are so good, sir, to entertain on the subject of one who recals with particular pleasure the conversation with which you honored him at Hayes, on some matters relating to the country where you are, whose welfare every thinking Englishman will ever consider as his own. My wishes in general on this head are very sincere, and my sense of the utility of an effectual militia very strong. Zeal without knowledge, or with quite an inadequate one, concerning many particulars of essential importance in a consideration of this nature, might greatly mislead me, were I to hazard a judgment how far the militia laws of England would, with propriety and effect, apply to Ireland. In this circumstance I must only respect and applaud the attempts, always open to form upon proper grounds, a final judgment with regard to so important an object. I will only add, that I esteem myself fortunate in receiving so favorable a mark of your opinion, and that I beg you will be persuaded of the true esteem and consideration with which

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your most obedient,

"And most humble servant,

"William Pitt."

One of the first letters from lord Charlemont to Mr. Flood, was during the short administration of lord Hertford, and it illustrates a principle very often acted on by the latter, in regard to Irish affairs,—that "he did not run headlong against government at one time, and with government at another; but adapted his conduct, as he ought to do, to what he saw, and what he felt,"—

it is estimable in showing the coincident views of his noble friend with his own.

A protest, remarkable for its boldness and distinctness of political sentiments, was, at this time, entered on the journals. The passage most striking is the following, which embodies the proposition of Molyneux,*—"Although the crowns of England and Ireland be united, yet *Ireland is a distinct* kingdom, and as such, has a distinct and separate executive, as well as a distinct and separate legislature." There is every reason to conclude that this protest was drawn up by Mr. Flood, not only from the characteristic principles it unfolds, but that lord Charlemont almost wholly depended on him in matters of such extensive import, and wrote to him on the subject. Lord Rockingham was then premier, nevertheless, lord Charlemont in this instance as in subsequent ones, preferred the interest of his country to a uniform consistency to his party in power, to which the little politician so rigidly adheres.

At this time Mr. Burke entered the British parliament, for the first time, under the auspices of the earl of Rockingham, to whom he was private secretary. From these circumstances Mr. Flood wrote to him, as some novel restrictions

* One of the six propositions in the Case of Ireland.

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were apprehended by the few who occupied themselves about the welfare of Ireland.

The late protest by lords Charlemont and Tyrone, was occasioned by a restriction on the corn trade, and now some other measure was contemplated, of a like tendency. Few, if any, persons in England, have so well understood the political and commercial state of Ireland as Mr. Burke, and none owed her a more grateful regard.

"To your inquiry, concerning some propositions in a certain assembly, of a nature injurious to Ireland, since your departure, I know nothing of the kind, except one attempt made by a Mr. Shiffner to lessen the number of the ports of entry in Britain and Ireland, allowed for the trade of wool and woollen yarn, of the growth of the latter country. This attempt was grounded on the decrease of the import of these commodities from Ireland, which they rashly attributed to the great facility of the illicit transport of wool from Ireland to France by the indulgence of a number of ports. This idea, founded in an ignorance of the nature of the Irish trade, had weight with some persons; but the decreased import of Irish wool and yarn being accounted for, upon true and rational principles, in a short memorial delivered to Mr. Townshend, he saw at once into it with his usual sagacity; and he has silenced this complaint, at least for this session."

At the close of Lord Hertford's administration Mr. Flood departed for England, and visited lord Chatham at Bath. The object of this interview partially transpires in lord Charlemont's subsequent correspondence. It is probable that a conditional support to lord Bristol was promised.

The conference on Irish affairs, which took place on this occasion, is pointedly referred to in the noble earl's own words, who even then had little confidence in a minister when his native land was concerned. We must feel an unlimited admiration for the high-minded character of his patriotism ; yet an unnecessary degree of despondency is often observable in his political anticipations.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*London, Hertford-st, Picadilly,* 1766.

"JUDGE of my disappointment, my dearest Flood. Detained in Ireland by contrary winds for almost three weeks, in constant expectation of sailing every day, I had omitted answering your letters, and was of course doubly anxious to see you, in order to obviate any ill opinion you might have conceived of me from my apparent negligence. At length the wind served, and I set out with a thorough confidence that I was travelling towards you. Arrived in London, my first care was to send to the St. James's coffee house. The answer was that you were gone to Paris, but were expected back in a very few days, and the next morning I received your billet, with an account of your having been obliged to set out for Ireland. I

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had expected the utmost pleasure in meeting you here. A thousand reasons concurred to render an interview necessary. I well knew that in our circumstances letters were likely to be but a poor resource; indeed I hardly ever remember being more really disappointed. The unexpected absence of a beloved mistress could scarcely have affected me more. I am afraid that this was almost the first time that, in the object of my ardent expectations, the *utile* had been mixed with the *dulce*, which could not fail to render my disappointment still more grievous to me. But now to your letters, for which, and for your kind confidence in me, ten thousand thanks. Your interview with the Patagonian* has turned out pretty much as I expected. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, or for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than for a politician to lay aside disguise, or for a minister *here* to think as we would with regard to our affairs. A great deal was, no doubt, to be expected from *his* peculiar character; but that characters, even the highest, almost always vary with a change in situation, the difference between this and your former conference is, I think, an incontestible proof. My disappointment of last year was no way inferior to your's at present. The highest and best founded esteem, a long acquaintance, nay, even a friendship between us, made me entertain the most sanguine hopes. But my friend was a minister! Indeed, my dearest Flood, we must depend upon ourselves alone. *Firmness*, as you well observe, *may gain, or the want of it lose, every thing.* I am, however, extremely glad that you have seen and conversed with him, and highly approve of every thing you said: his being made acquainted with what I am proud to call *our* way of thinking, may be of the greatest advantage. As soon as he comes to London, I shall be introduced to him, and if we should ever have any conversation upon public matters, you may be sure that he shall perceive that you and I are unisons. Even

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* Lord Chatham.

without the assistance afforded me by your letter, I flatter myself that an exact similitude of principle and sentiment would have rendered our discourse nearly of the same import; but our correspondence, which I beg may be constantly continued, will still further arm and instruct me. I have been asked by several, by Bristol amongst the rest, whether it were true that you were to *undertake* next winter in Ireland? My constant answer is, that I know nothing about it, but that I was certain your political principles are unchanged and unchangeable.

"Hamilton has this instant been here. I have just now been told, says he, that Augustus Hervey has said that lord Bristol has had a letter from lord Chatham, with an account of an interview between him and Mr. Flood, in which the latter had, in the handsomest manner, declared that he would support lord Bristol's government; in consequence of which declaration he was to be the first man provided for. My answer was, that in the manner the story was told, I did not give credit to it; that I thought it very likely that Flood might have seen lord Chatham, that he might, in the course of conversation, have said that his influence in the administration made him hope for such measures as a man of principle might support, and that upon this probability the report was founded: but that I knew my friend too well to believe that he had made any declaration without conditions and proper reservation. That I wished, for the sake of my country, that it might be true that he had so declared himself, as I was very sure, if he had done so, it must have been upon such conditions as would be highly advantageous to the public, the interest of which, I was thoroughly convinced, he would always prefer to his own.

"I have just now received your's from Chester. What you miscal *teazing*, is to me the most flattering of all compliments: your confidence in me gives me the sincerest pleasure, principally because I am conscious that I am not totally undeserving of it; for though I can by no means answer for

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my head, I think I can be responsible for my heart. You may be sure that I shall conduct myself exactly according to your instructions. I have called on lord Bristol, but have not as yet seen him. If he should enter into any political conversation with me, I will immediately give you an account of it. If your name should come in question, I shall speak my own thoughts of you, which will be, I am certain, just as you would wish.

"With regard to him I shall carefully follow your instructions. Thurloe is not yet come to town, prevented I suppose by the snow. Farewell, my dearest, best of friends, pardon this incoherent letter, which has been fifty times interrupted. I think we have a great deal to hope, and nothing to fear: such is the ground we stand on. I shall inquire with regard to the seat in parliament both for YOU AND FOR MYSELF. By the by, I do not think it amiss that it should be supposed here that WE BOTH intend to come into parliament. Once more farewell, and believe me most sincerely your affectionate and faithful friend, and as firm in my principles as I am in my friendship.

"CHARLEMONT."

In this communication we find reference made to a letter sent to the great minister of the day, a copy of which Mr. Flood inclosed to his noble friend:—

LETTER FROM MR. FLOOD TO LORD CHATHAM.

"*Saturday Evening.*

"MY LORD,

"EVER since I had the honor to pay my respects to your lordship at Bath, I have continued to labor under a

severe feverish disorder, which at that time lay so heavy on me that I am conscious I was wholly incapable of explaining myself with any degree of exactness or propriety. I wished to have acquainted your lordship with the sentiments of some gentlemen, who have done me more honor than I deserve in permitting me to do so, and to whom therefore I think myself responsible; on which consideration alone I presumed to trouble your lordship with any such explanation. But as I am sensible that, in the state in which I then was, I must have been wholly unequal to so delicate a task, I think it my duty to express my sense of it to your lordship, in as much as I should not wish, by so imperfect a detail, to be the possible instrument of the smallest misconception, either as to men or things, with respect to any person, and, least of all, with respect to that person for whom I have the highest reverence.

"I have the honor, to be, my lord,
"Your most obedient, and
"most humble servant,
"HENRY FLOOD."

The connected interest which the following correspondence preserves pending the appointment of a viceroy in place of lord Hertford, requires that it should assume a continuous form, before entering on the government of lord Townshend.

In this epistle we have the noble earl's comparison of the oratory of lords Mansfield and Chatham, after a preliminary observation on his friend's health.

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LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*London*, 1766.

"The pleasure I received from your letters, my dearest Flood, which would otherwise be as perfect and as entire as my friendship and regard for you, is not a little alloyed and diminished by the disagreeable accounts they too often contain of the very precarious state of your health. For heaven's sake, what should sickness have to do with you? Can she then extend her baleful influence over the spirits? for surely otherwise you, who are *all soul*, could never be liable to her attacks! Are there not enough of those, whose souls, as well as their bodies, seem to be moulded of clay, and who ought therefore to be wholly and entirely subject to her cursed domination? Over such let her extend her tyranny, and heaven knows that her empire will be sufficiently extensive, indeed almost universal; but let the few spirits that yet remain unadulterated and unmixed with the dross of matter, be as they ought to be, (if all be true which we are bound to believe), free from her hated despotism. But spirit will in the end triumph, and must remain superior to all her lawless efforts; and therefore I will lay aside my fears with regard to you, and proceed to thank you for your last kind letter, which afforded me the highest satisfaction, by informing me of your glorious perseverance in what I am proud to call our common cause, and of lord Tyrone's deserved success. I could readily have believed almost any thing of the complete and unalterable servility of my worthy brethren, yet this last instance out-does all the rest, and, had it been reported of any other body of men, would indeed have been scarcely credible. That men on this side of the water should be blinded by the dazzling light of court sunshine, however extraordinary, is not out of nature; but that

a *mouthful of moonshine*, for such, alas! is the dim reflected lustre of our secondary court, should be able thus to dazzle and to blind, is indeed wonderful, and argues the most extreme weakness of sight. * * * * * * *

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But indeed, my dear Flood, I must stop here, for I am really tired: besides I do not so well recollect lord Mansfield's arguments as those of his antagonist, and that for many good reasons;—because they did not to me carry conviction with them,—because sophistry is not so easily traced and recollected as plain and strong reasoning, and,—because my attention was more fixed by Chatham than by Mansfield, from a degree of partiality and prejudice in his favour which I am by no means ashamed to confess. There never was a better fight; each of them spoke thrice; both as eloquent and as ingenious as possible, but in my opinion the victory in argument remained with lord Chatham. The bill was however committed without a division. For me to attempt a comparison between these two great men would be much too hardy an enterprise. In all the parts of oratory they are, I think, nearly equal; though they who pretend to be unprejudiced, (which I am proud to say I am not), may perhaps think that Mansfield in his speaking has more of the orator, though all will allow that Chatham has, even in his manner, more of the good citizen and virtuous man. The one seems always to speak from conviction, and more from his heart than his head. The general good of mankind seems to be his particular interest, and the warmth of his zeal persuades as much as the strength of his argument: the other apparently speaks for a party, and harangues as if his cause were not his own, but merely his client's. Lord Mansfield's manner seems to command your attention, and to order you to be convinced, under the penalty of passing for a fool. Lord Chatham entreats you to listen to him, a request which it is impossible to refuse, and sues you to be convinced for your own good. Mansfield can never divest himself of the lawyer; he speaks as if he were fee'd:

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nor is his manner, though excellent, void of the bar cant. Chatham is the polite gentleman, without cant, or the smallest degree of affectation, and seems to deliver his sentiments for no other reason than that he thinks himself in the right, and that it is his duty to persuade others to think as he does. Mansfield, in short, seems to persuade for his own advantage; Chatham for that of his audience: the one commands your admiration, the other gains your love. Mansfield is strong in sophistry, and puzzles you out of your senses; Chatham is as strong in unravelling that sophistry; and you thank him for restoring you to your reason: but I have foolishly and unwittingly undertaken a task which I cannot accomplish. * * *

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Mr. Flood's first negotiation to become a member of the British senate—

"My dearest Flood,

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* "I have not as yet been able to see John Pitt upon the business which you so very kindly recommended to my care, but I shall endeavour to talk with him about it before I finish this letter. You may be assured that I shall be a faithful and diligent agent, even though I must confess that in this matter I shall in some respects be forced to act against my inclination, nay, even perhaps, in some degree, in contradiction to that warm love of my country, which is, I hope, one of my most ardent passions. Can we spare you? must we then lose you? But you are even too good for us! yet you will not, you cannot be lost to us, of this I may be certain! Nay, perhaps, in your double capacity you may still be more useful: it must be so, and that is one of your reasons for desiring a footing here.

This argument I confess is necessary to obviate the remorse which I might otherwise feel in being any way instrumental in depriving my forlorn country of her principal support, of her *dulce decus et præsidium!*

"I have seen and talked to John Pitt. He has spoken to his friend, who has promised to give him the preference. The price cannot be exactly determined, but will probably not exceed £3,000, of which it also may fall short, and should it exceed, it will be by a trifle. There will be a security, as far as that matter can be secured, of re-election: you have no other step to take but to determine, and, as soon as possible, to write to me an account of your determination. After that, you will have nothing else to do but to hold the above mentioned sum in readiness, and to think about a qualification. He expressed the greatest pleasure at being any way instrumental in bringing this matter about, which pleasure, he said, was increased by his knowledge of your sentiments with regard to his cousin, lord Chatham. I told him that I was well acquainted with your veneration for his character, of which he might be sure, while he continued to act as he hitherto has done. So this matter is in a fair way of being settled, and poor Hibernia is likely to lose the only tuneful string of her harp. * *
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LETTER.

"*London, April* 9, 1767.

"My Dearest Flood,

"Though my health is at present in a more promising situation than it was when I last wrote, I am not however, by any means equal to the attempt of writing so much as my heart would dictate to me in answer to the contents of your last. I must therefore content myself with saying a very few words upon an occasion, which, if justice were

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done to it, would certainly require a very long letter; yes, my dearest Flood, I fear indeed that you have been treated ill, and that we have in some degree both of us been deceived, and yet I cannot think that we have any reason to find fault with our own conduct, or to repent either our credulity or our moderation, since, had we been less credulous and less moderate, I do not see that it would have been possible for us in any way to have prevented what, at all events, would certainly have happened. For my own part, I know little or nothing of the transaction. Tyrone, who used to be my constant visiter, seldom now comes near me, and I have had no opportunity for this long time past of saying a word to him in particular; I hear that he declares that lord Bristol's great openness and unreserve towards him in communicating his thoughts and intentions, has won his heart. Lord Bristol's policy I do not well understand, but take it for granted that he over-rates Tyrone's influence over those, who are falsely termed his party; and even with regard to you, I have some reason to believe that he thinks himself tolerably secure. Lord Chatham has, I believe, misunderstood, for he is not capable of misrepresenting, some part of your conversation with him. I have several times been assured that lord Bristol received a letter from him in consequence of your visit at Bath, in which he informed him that you had, in the handsomest manner, and without stipulating any thing for yourself, offered to support him in Ireland, and this account, I was informed, came from Augustus Hervey: my answer has always been that it must be a mistake, for that I was sure you had tied yourself down in no way. Perhaps your warmth of expression, animated as you were by your veneration for lord Chatham, might have made you drop something in that conversation which might have been thus misinterpreted: but all this is of little consequence, when compared to the much more important consideration of the part which you ought to take in the present critical emergency. There never was yet a point which seems

to me to require more coolness of deliberation, nor must your heat of resentment, however justly you may be inflamed, have any share allowed it in your decision. THAT, WHICH HAS EVER BEEN YOUR FIRST PRINCIPLE, THE DESIRE OF SERVING YOUR COUNTRY, IS THE STAR BY WHICH YOU MUST STEER, nor must you suffer the storms of passion in any degree to bias or turn you out of your direct course. This is, I well know, a different manœuvre, but your guiding constellation will ever remain unclouded, and you have a pilot in your breast, who will, if you trust implicitly to him, infallibly steer you clear of all danger. If lord Bristol should, as it is possible he may, come over to Ireland, armed with those long expected benefits which have ever been the object of our wishes, public and private, an opposition to his measures would most certainly in that case be impossible from those whose first aim is their country's service. This, however, may or may not be, and indeed unfortunately the latter is, I fear, more probable, but I only mention it as a possibility to be maturely weighed and reflected on. My treatment has also been none of the most satisfactory; for though certainly of some consequence, and though intimately known to most of his family and connexions, I have never been in any degree confidentially treated; a civility which I undoubtedly might have expected. Yet I am determined not to suffer any pique, which may naturally rise from a slight of this sort, in any way to bias my public conduct: but I need expatiate no further upon this head. You see at once, I am sure, the whole drift of my argument, and your goodness will, I make no doubt, incline you to excuse my presumption in hazarding these needless hints. Yet the most truly upright man, and the most incapable of being influenced by any other motive whatever, may sometimes yield to the almost irresistible impulse of resentment, nor is there, perhaps, any of our passions so powerful to shake the best guarded resolution. *Tristes ut iræ.* From all that I have now hinted you will readily conclude what is my opinion; *reserve* is still absolutely

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necessary, nor do I think that any thing which has yet happened ought in any degree to change our system; let us keep ourselves yet clear of all engagements, and wait for those events by which we must finally be decided. In the mean time be as angry as you please, for indeed I fear you have great reason; nor do I think it at all necessary, any more than it would be manly to conceal your anger from him who has offended you. You cannot be more truly angry than I am, and that entirely upon your account: I too should like to show it, but shall wait in this point for your directions. But let our anger be only pointed against those who deserve it, nor let it in any sort influence us with regard to our public behaviour. But perhaps all this wise discussion may turn out absolutely nugatory, and the system upon which all our deliberations are founded may, long before the time of reducing them to practice, vanish like the 'baseless fabric of a vision.' * * * * *

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The following letter refers to the negotiations for a seat in the British parliament, which Mr. Flood contemplated at this period:—

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*London, April* 18, 1767.

"My Dearest Flood,

"Immediately upon the receipt of your last letter I wrote to John Pitt, whose hurry of business had prevented me from seeing him for some time past, to beg that he would call on me as soon as possible, and this morning he has been with me. I told him that you were uneasy at the uncertainty with which this affair seemed to be attended; that you were desirous of knowing the name of the person with whom you were to treat, as well as of the place in question; and that you

wished to be at some certainty with regard to the event. To this he replied, that he was totally ignorant both of the principal to be treated with, and of the name of the place; that the person who had mentioned the affair, was one on whom he could depend, who, being under obligations to him, would, he was certain, give the preference to any person of his recommending; that, however, he was but an agent in this business, and that, from some words which had dropped from him in a late conversation, he was rather induced to believe that the matter was not as yet upon a secure footing, but was to be soon determined by some event at law, which event, however, his friend appeared absolutely secure of. He concluded by saying, that though he himself thought it could not fail, he would not, however, upon any account, have you rely wholly upon this overture, but that, if you had any thing surer in view, he would, by all means, have you prefer it. He enlarged upon the strong desire he had to see you in parliament, and said, but that in a sort of confidence to me, that if some invincible obstacles did not stand in his way, he should be delighted to have the honor of bringing you himself into parliament. By this conversation you see that matters are by no means so certain as could be wished, and that you are entirely at liberty to declare yourself off or on as you may think best. Whatever you may resolve on, you have but to communicate to me, and Mr. Pitt shall be immediately informed of your determination, and the sooner this was done, I should think, the better. As to him, I do not believe that there is in the world an honester man, or one on whom you may with more safety depend. His only reason for desiring not to be mentioned in this affair arises from his delicacy, as he is in general an utter enemy to this kind of sale; and were it not from his high opinion of you, and, his idea of the great use you would be of, I am certain he would not have interfered in a transaction of this kind. * * * * *

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"Lord Chatham still continues very ill, and does no business.

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His doctors, however, promise fairly. The ministry, however, seem upon the whole in a better situation than they have yet been, especially since the late victory.

" Pardon this lame account, from a lame man. I am still a prisoner, and, if at all, mend but very slowly. The weather is sadly unfavourable to me. Farewell, my dearest Flood; believe me ever your's most faithfully.

" A few posts ago you received a long letter from me: I long for an answer.

" You ask me whether I do not think that it would be right that certain persons should be undeceived with regard to their mistaken idea of their friend's influence? I think so most certainly, but in what manner is it to be done? I have declared to all who visit me what I know of that matter, but whether that will ever reach lord Bristol's ears is doubtful. If you think of any proper method, communicate it.

The preceding letters certainly display lord Charlemont to great advantage: the contrast of the two leading orators, lords Chatham and Mansfield, is so just and discriminating that the mind of the reader easily appreciates the several peculiarities of their eloquence.

The noble earl eminently excelled in a graceful diction; neither studied nor pedantic, yet conveying his thoughts perspicuously; with a propriety and a warmth of expression which entitle his letters to a place in epistolary literature. There was a singular coincidence in the sentiments and efforts of lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood at the period which this correspondence perpetuates; and without presumption the

elegant expression of Seneca, with regard to another great man, may be applied to him— "*nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistolæ non sinunt.*"

Lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood lived long enough to experience the mutability of political fame, and to see the unprofitableness of their long and assiduous labors.

Since the time of Titus Pomponeus, we find but few in the pages of history who possessed, in an equal degree with the noble earl, the more endearing virtues adorned with the accomplishments that polite literature and foreign travel afford. In every letter, almost in every sentence, we trace the warm affection of a friend in the most refined conception. As a politician, he stood the mediator of parties and the untiring patriot. In his character seems to be blended much of what is noble in nature, with what is most attractive in learning and the arts.

His munificence was without ostentation; his political exertions were without reward; his integrity was without spot. Endued with a mild and limited genius, a quick perception, and a discriminating taste; the more ardent faculties of his mind were subdued by the benign influence of benevolence: and of the illustrious men of his country, he most deserved the name, as he most resembled the character, of Atticus.

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Such was lord Charlemont, divested of that adulatory language which overstrains the ordinary incidents of life into a fantastic verbiage.*

The state of oratory was by no means deficient in the Irish commons; and so forcibly was sir James Caldwell† impressed with the style and classical purity of some eminent members, that he compiled his "Reports," and thought them worthy of being dedicated to Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Flood were the most conspicuous; and though their characteristics were distinct and opposite, yet they were both admired.

They entered parliament in the same year. Mr. Hutchinson attached himself to the court party almost from the outset of his career, and continued, through many administrations, its ready and plausible defender. Mr. Flood joined the opposition, and continued there, with the exception of five years, during his public life.

The courtier was the more skilful, prudent, and pliant; his obsequiousness to power often rendering him the more successful. The patriot was bold and indefatigable; neither regarding with a minute delicacy persons in office, nor passing with

* Mr. Hardy constantly makes him the companion and friend of foreign potentates, and the rival in heraldic lore of "Mowbray, Lanchaster Heralds, Blue Mantle, and Rouge Dragon!"

† See his "Dedication."

indifference the flagitious system of policy pursued, nor the constitutional violations of the privy council.

The shades of contrast were remarkable. The dark and portentous aspect of the patriot never assumed a tone of umbrage deeper than the vernal alternations in the courtier.

Though Mr. Flood's eloquence was not Demosthenean at this early indication of his style, —being more Livian,—yet Mr. Hutchinson's less resembled that of Hyperides, but rather the style of the rhetorician Gorgias. Doctor Campbell* said of this statesman, at a time more advanced, when his oratory had improved by the acquisitions of art, and the advantages of display, "that he had a mellifluous voice and pleasing elocution. His exordium gave me great hopes of great matters, but his oratory is of that wordy ostentatious character which sometimes disappoints your expectation. Here he is called the "prancer," from a similitude they find in him to a horse in the *Manège—curvetting at the height of his mettle without making any 'progress forward,'* which peculiarity was not attic in the days of Hyperides, no more than the agnomen could have been affixed to him by his Athenian rivals.

Two anecdotes related by a fellow of Trinity college,† are so characteristic and amusing,

* Phil. Survey. † The author of "Lacrymæ Academicæ."

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that they claim a place in any notice of Mr. Hutchinson.

"When addressing the board of Fellows, he told us, 'though we took great pains to instruct the students in the sciences, we did not exact an equal attention in instructing them in the classics, that at Eton the lads were actually better skilled in the learned languages than the students of Trinity college. He told us that before his son went to Oxford, and while yet a school-boy, when he came home at long vacation, he opened the famous oration of Demosthenes for 'the crown,' for his son to translate some pages into English, which he easily performed, although on inquiry, *his son told him he never read the book before!*' The indignant Fellow exclaimed, 'he found it very difficult to believe that a school-boy could explain *at sight* a book that had exercised, and in some instances baffled, the acumen of some of the most able critics since the revival of letters in Europe.' Mr. Hutchinson wished to qualify his assertion, but the pertinacious doctor said,—'No; the difficulties of that book are thicker set than the stars of the firmament.'"

The other anecdote is in reference to a public examination of the candidates for the first fellowship. Mr. Hutchinson inquired of one, at what period eloquence flourished most amongst the

Greeks? The candidate, not recollecting the precise answer, guessed,—in the time of the Peloponnesian war. Here, in his turn, the candidate puzzled Mr. Hutchinson, who forgot the era of Alexander's death. He remained for some time in very laughable perplexity, but wishing to say something that would neither fully admit nor yet deny the propriety of the answer, observed,—'Right, sir, but at what time in that war?' Thus killing Alexander the Great during the Peloponnesian contest, to manifest his knowledge of his favorite author, Thucydides."

The earlier cast of Mr. Flood's public character we conceive to be justly presented in the words of sir William Osborne* on an occasion of an address to the crown:—"Whatever may be my opinion of the motion of the honorable gentleman (Mr. Perry) on the opposite bench, I shall most heartily concur in the subsequent motion of the honorable gentleman (Mr. Flood) whose steadiness and uniformity of conduct give a sanction to his proposals, and a confidence to his professions; uniformity of conduct is a proof of integrity, and there is no reason to suspect him of prostituting his abilities to private purposes under the specious appearance of patriotism and public spirit, who steadily opposes the destruc-

* Reports of Sir James Caldwell.

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tive projects of *jobbers and the friends of jobbers*, whether they affect in general to display their oratory for the court or against it.* I shall always think those measures most worthy of attention which are recommended by members whose inquiry with regard to any question is, *not from what party it comes, but what is its tendency*." A sentiment well worthy of the patriotic sir William Osborne, whose speech is highly descriptive of his parliamentary conduct through life. Mr. Perry on this occasion supported the court with a small party called the "flying squadron," from the facility with which they veered from side to side, not indeed as "fickle fancy chose," but as court influence was more or less seductive.

This is one of the many instances where we find that, for personal aggrandizement, a certain tact and moderate talents, with an expedient manner of directing them, are far more profitable than the master-mind that disdains to ascend by low degrees.

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* Mr. Hardy has decorated the wigs of the court officials of this period with a grotesque profusion of garlands of forget-me-nots and amaraths.

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From 1768 to 1773.

Mr. Flood's first acquaintance with Mr. Grattan —Their literary intercourse.—Mr. Grattan's pursuits.—The Mask of Comus.—Plays.—Mr. Pope's estimation of Homer and Virgil how applicable to Flood and Grattan.—Octennial Bill causes a new Election.—The Borough of Callan represented by two members whose estates adjoined.—Dispute about votes between Mr. Flood and "Jemmy Agar."—The latter's stentorian gesture.—Duel the first.—Duel the second.—Agar killed.—Letters from lords Charlemont and Lifford.—Delicate sensitiveness of lord chancellor Lifford.—Legal investigation.—The Barateriana.—Its value as a literary and political performance.—The chief writers of it.—Measures of lord Townshend's administration.—His protest, prorogation, and resignation.—Supposition that Mr. Flood was Junius.

It was at this period that Mr. Flood first became acquainted with Mr. Grattan, through dean Marley. He was a much younger man, and did not enter parliament for six years after lord Townshend's resignation; however, he exercised his brilliant talents in many political essays on the governments considered inimical to the freedom of parliament and national independence. Private plays were then much the fashion, and Mr. Grattan assisted at these amusements at Farmley, to which allusion is made in a memoir

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preceding a collection of his speeches. Little did he think that he was destined to become the corrival of the fame of his host in oratory and patriotism. Both men can be estimated without the deterioration a partisan is sure to follow,—an error, Mr. Pope remarks, of those who draw their parallels of Homer and Virgil, "as if one should think to raise the superstructure by undermining the foundation."

Mr. Grattan, however, just now, was pursuing a less perilous course than politics. He was wandering at leisure amidst the groves of Academus. The Mask of Comus was written about this time.

A very unfortunate event occurred shortly after the passing of the octennial bill: writs for the new election had been issued, the borough of Callan, which returned two members, had long been jointly represented by the Agars and the Floods. Sir William Petty mentions one of each family in the parliament of the duke of Grafton for that borough. On the new election "Jemmy Agar of Gowran,"* and Mr. Flood of Farmley, divided the representation; but a misunderstanding occurred about disputed rights, which terminated fatally to the former.

* The familiar style he was known by at the time. This family was afterwards elevated to the peerage, and assumed other names in addition to Agar.

The pistol was considered a more honorable mode of deciding political differences than logic, rhetoric, or constitutional means. Duelling was thought by many, in those days, an *èclat* necessary to character; a good shot might with greater confidence spit forth the aspic venom of his nature, or when it failed, he might freely exercise a loud voice and determined gesture.

Mr. Agar was a practised shot, and felt perfect security in his skill; he, therefore, readily challenged his opponent to end their electioneering dispute. Mr. Flood accepted the message, and a meeting took place at Holyhead, where Agar was slightly wounded; but so incensed was he at having missed his adversary, that before the election was over Mr. Flood received a second cartel. The hostile interview took place on the race course of Kilkenny, where lots were drawn for the first fire: Agar got it; he aimed, and grazed Flood, but without wounding him. Agar demanded, in the voice of a stentor, for Flood to fire; he did so, and shot him through the breast. Before sufficient medical aid could be procured Agar expired. This lamentable circumstance caused deep chagrin to Mr. Flood; and an important correspondence was interchanged between lord Charlemont, lord chancellor Lifford, and Mr. Flood, on the mode of justificatory trial to be pursued.

LETTER FROM LORD LIFFORD.

"My good Lord,

"The precedents which your lordship left, being very defective, I have caused a diligent search to be made at the secretary's office from the beginning of the present century, but without discovering any one precedent which, in my apprehension, applies to the present case. Under these circumstances it will be too much for me, in so delicate a business as this is, to make myself responsible for a measure which seems open to the objection of its being unprecedented; an objection which, in any thing respecting the administration of justice, is with me a formidable one.

"I must, in justice to his excellency my lord lieutenant, lay before him the result of my inquiry, and it is probable that he will, as seems to be natural, call upon the attorney and solicitor-general for their opinion; and possibly they, in their knowledge and experience in public business here, may recollect something that may afford more light than is to be had from searches at public offices. Your apology last night was quite unnecessary to me, who can never think it any any trouble to receive your lordship's commands, and who am happy whenever I can give you any just proof of my respect. I shall return my answer to my lord lieutenant's letter to-day. I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect,

"My lord, your lordship's
"most obedient and faithful
"humble servant,
"Lifford."

Drumcondra, Sunday morning,
10*th September*, 1769.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT TO MR. FLOOD.

"My dearest Flood,

"In truth I have passed but a bad night; this morning, however, I have been somewhat comforted by the consequences of a visit which I made to the chancellor. Determined to try a new method, I resolved to talk of the lord lieutenant's behaviour in a more violent style than what I had hitherto used. 'My lord,' said I, 'I am come to inform you, that a petition has yesterday been presented from the borough of L———d, desiring, &c.; to which his excellency has been pleased to give a most extraordinary answer, that he would consult your lordship upon the matter, which, as you well know, he has already done long since; so that, by what I perceive, the affair is left in the same situation in which it was a month ago. Now, my lord, is not this conduct most amazing? What must we judge of it? What but that which every one does think, that his excellency has a mind to prevent Mr. Flood's attendance in parliament, till some favorite scheme be agitated, to which he fears my friend's opposition.' The chancellor seemed startled, but endeavoured to excuse him by talking of his dilatoriness and indolence. 'My lord, that may possibly be true, but no one will believe it, nor think it possible that a person in his character should not be actuated by a motive of a much worse kind; and, indeed, if that should be the case, some friend ought to let him know the certain consequence which must follow from this dilatoriness, and the infinite mischief he will bring upon himself by it.' Some more conversation of this kind ensued, when at length he told me that he now saw the matter in a very different light; that the petition had entirely altered the state of the question; that if no objection upon further conside-

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ration should occur, he now saw none to the measure, and should certainly recommend it; that he should see the lord lieutenant this day, who would undoubtedly mention it to him. 'For heaven's sake, my lord,' said I, 'don't leave it to him; speak to him yourself about it, or ten to one it may as usual be omitted or forgot.' 'I certainly will,' said he, 'and every thing in my power shall be done; in the meanwhile, I would have you know of Mr. Flood whether he has any objection to the judges Henn and Smith, who, as youngest judges, will probably be appointed. For, if he has, I shall take care that others be sent in their place.' For this reason principally I send off this letter by express, in order that you may answer it by the same express, and inform me whether those judges are pleasing to you. Matters are now, I think, upon a good footing, and the only fear I now have is of the attorney and solicitor.

"Lord Annaly is now in town, so that, if you think of bail, you ought to come to town."

"*Wednesday* 11*th, one o'clock.*"

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Bayley's Office, Sept.* 6.

"My dearest Flood,

"On a consideration of your letter, which I this day received, I thought it not improper to wait on our friend the chancellor, from whom I am this minute returned. I told him that I had heard from you, and that you having applied for the commission, did suppose that lord Townshend has already referred the matter to him; and, in consequence, had desired me to apply to Mr. Wolfe, in order that precedents might be laid before him. He answered, that he had as yet heard nothing of the matter from the lord lieutenant; but had

already considered the point, and did believe that precedents might be found; and that, when referred to, he should take care to put the affair upon the proper footing, renewing the warmest assurances that, in every thing not inconsistent with the law of the land, he should be happy to serve you. He desired, however, that I would take care that Wolfe should have the precedents in readiness. Those two you mention he was already apprised of; indeed, I had mentioned them to him before. I then told him that, supposing the commission to be granted, I believed you would not choose that the trial should come on before the first week in October, premising that I now spoke to him rather as a person who honored me and my friend with his friendship and good wishes, than as the lord chancellor; and therefore begging, that if my ignorance or zeal should induce me to mention anything improper, he would be so good as to stop me. He replied, that with regard to the time, it could not be earlier than what I had mentioned, as time is always given upon these occasions to prepare for a defence; and that, even when the time had been appointed, you might have it postponed, by alleging that you were not ready.

"I now hinted delicately and distantly, that I did believe there were certain persons who might not be so eligible, &c. Here he stopped me with—'this, perhaps, may not be quite proper: if there be any person a relation to the deceased, or any one who can be supposed to harbour any resentment against the person to be tried, these, as men of honor, must refuse the commission.' And after thinking a little, he added, 'I don't know but that I may think it right, when the appointment shall be made, to call upon your lordship, as a person so nearly connected with your friend, to desire to know of you, whether any exception lies against such appointment.' This, with many strong professions of desire to serve you, was the sum of our conversation, which I have put down in such a hurry, as my eyes ache sadly, that I fear you will scarcely understand me. On the whole, all goes on, I think, very

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well; but I wish my lord lieutenant would be speedy. I only fear the desire of keeping you from parliament, for which reason I tell every where that the offence is bailable.

" The chancellor, unprovoked too, made use of an expression that pleased me: ' it would be most dishonorable and unworthy to keep an affair of this kind hanging over such a man's head during the session of parliament.

" Pearson is out of town, but Bayley has undertaken your business.

" No excuses for heaven's sake! Is not your business really my own? Indeed it is so much like my own, that I wonder I go about it with so much alacrity.

" Adieu my dearest, dear friend; write to me immediately.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

" *Sunday Morning.*

" My dearest, dear Flood,

" Without making any remarks upon it, I send you, by express, the inclosed letter from the chancellor, which has, indeed, given me the greatest uneasiness. His arguments to me against granting the commission, in the two last visits which I made him, were,—that there is no precedent where a commission has been granted at the request of the defendant; that the legality of such procedure may be doubtful, as he has met with a passage in lord Coke which seems to point that way. That unless the measure were clear from all objection, it would not only be dishonorable for you, but might also be attended with bad consequences to you, as an appeal might be made. Notwithstanding this perhaps too great caution of his, he is, I am convinced, sincerely your friend, which truth, the trouble which he shows at not being able immediately to comply with your desire, and the pains he has taken in this affair, sufficiently evince. Still I think, however, there are some

hopes; but should they fail, for God's sake come to town, and give in bail at the king's bench, as soon as it is possible so to do. I will not tell you how greatly I am distressed at the ill success of my negotiation, because you well know how warmly, how sincerely, how really I am your friend.

"The chancellor agreed perfectly with me, that the present agitation of the country was a strong additional reason for the measure; and seemed to wish it as warmly as I could do. He thinks, that in case you should fail in regard to the commission, you ought to consider whether it will not be more eligible to be tried at the king's bench.

It would have been improper to have mentioned this painful incident and to have omitted the above letters, which give an insight into the motives and elevated character of lord Lifford on a delicate matter, wherein all the efforts of private intimacy could not shake him from the impartial attributes of his high office, which he so justly felt.

After a judicial investigation, Mr. Flood resumed his parliamentary duties.

The exertions of the preceding eight years had done much;—a few distinguished men had worked a visible change in the policy of government, and which now auspiciously began to operate more in unison with a representative system. The period of lord Townshend's administration was universally allowed to be the spring-time of a *practical* adaptation of the British constitution to Ireland.

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A bill for rendering the judges permanent had received a virtual sanction; and the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments in this kingdom passed in its octennial form. The aurora of freedom had risen with healing on her wings, and smiled with promises of benefits to come.

An authority * of discrimination has said,—"There can be no doubt, that it was mainly owing to the energy, the ability and the perseverance of Mr. Flood, who stood out from the rest of his contemporaries at this early period, with a bold distinctness that rendered him the principal figure in the picture." And it fortunately happened that there was a virtuous coincidence in the motives and actions of lord Charlemont and his friend; and what the earl † desired above all things, but was incapable of giving utterance to in the commons, his friend conveyed in a chaste and convincing eloquence. The noble lord's nervous temperament was to him an insuperable impediment to public speaking, and he was not a member of the commons, though Armagh wished to return him; hence he was invariably obliged to depend on an able leader, and he avers in his letters "that he would neither sign a protest, nor make a political engagement, without first consulting his friend."

* Dublin University Magazine.

† He was not at this time an earl; that creation was subsequent.

The leader of the opposition of the house of commons was eminently successful in the prominent acts which passed in lord Townshend's viceroyalty. At first he was inclined to give adhesion to this government, from his cordial intimacy with Mr. Charles Townshend, the secretary, from whom much was expected. The preceding letters of lord Charlemont testify the intricacies and uncertainties connected with any minister's policy for Ireland; which, indeed, may be attributed to the concatenation of circumstances with an equal probability as disinclination. Mr. Flood says,*—"I never opposed lord Townshend till after the prorogation and protest.—Now what did I oppose?—The violation of the privileges of this house with regard to money bills, and the wanton augmentation of offices by the division of the board of commissioners into two parts." The nature of his opposition was marked more by a high-minded direction of policy, than a factious hostility. In one of the ephemeral essays of that time, we have a strict delineation of the course he pursued.

†"But what language can we find to express our gratitude to him, who proved by irrefragible

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* Irish Parliamentary Debates, 1783.

† This sketch has been attributed to sir Hercules Langrishe, one of the writers of the "Barateriana."

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arguments our inability to support the expense which would be incurred by the intended increase of foxes! *

"His calculations were so fair, that even your own scribe was forced to acknowledge they were just. Indeed, upon whatever subject this champion of our liberty speaks, he does so with such knowledge, accuracy, and perspicuity, that one would imagine *that* subject had been the particular and chief object of his inquiry.

"Does he make calculations?—what mathematician more exact. Does he plead his country's cause?—what breast does not glow with patriotism; he seems nearly to approach that great original, Demosthenes—whom he so well understands. He has all his fire, brevity, and perspicuity. And, we trust, he will be handed down to posterity not only as a genius and orator, but what is much more to his honor.

"Your excellency (lord Townshend) we are certain, will excuse this digression on the character of one you cannot help but admire."

It would appear from this essay, that the financial plans, and an undue exercise of power by the viceroy, were the debated points. The opposition were, at this time, more numerous than those which preceded; and were additionally

* Placemen.

formidable from being composed of the leading families in the kingdom, assisted by great parliamentary talents.

"The exertions in the commons were considerably aided from without by the fugitive pieces, and pasquinades by anonymous writers; those comprised in the 'Barateriana,' were most favored, from their elegance of composition, sarcastic wit, and pointed and brilliant figures.

The chief governor was facetiously designated Sancho, and his immediate adherents had appropriate cognomens, which thinly veiled their political delinquencies and vices, which were not allayed by a single patriotic virtue. There was some exaggeration on the part of "Barateriana;"* and if they were deficient in epigrammatic turn and delicate satire, at least, their imitative talents were felt, for the drastic and scourging effect of Juvenal.

After the close of the session, lord Townshend returned to England; and a gentleman† whose traits are penciled with happy boldness, relieved with the justest lights and shades, proposed to the commons a vote of thanks to his majesty for the continuance of his excellency as viceroy. The

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* The eminent writers were, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Grattan, (then a young barrister not in parliament), and Mr. Flood.

† Mr. Hutchinson in the "Barateriana."

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motion caused Mr. Ponsonby to resign the speaker's chair; Mr. Flood dissented, and with him the opposition.

Mr. Perry, whom the historian says, "*from a patriot had become a courtier*,"* was elected by a government majority to be speaker, who in lord Northumberland's ministry was remarkable as leader of the "flying squadron," a party the well known couplet of Lucretius would describe.

Mr. Perry voted for the *continuance* of lord Townshend, *after* his excellency's censure on the commons, expressed in a protest. The viceroy resigned; but the parliamentary triumphs were important. The fundamental franchise, without which "the house of commons was but a shadow,"† was obtained,—the practice of the Irish privy council to certify money bills to the British, was rejected. This last effort determined his excellency to exile the parliament from the capital, by a long prorogation.

Without resting on barren and uninteresting spots, in the interval of time before the measures of lord Harcourt, we may pass to where the view is more extensive and varied, and to objects more worthy of any memorial.

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* Gordon's Hist. vol. ii.

† The impotence of the Irish legislature, before 1768, is truly described in the "Philosophical Survey."

It has been said, with every degree of probability, that the fugitive pieces of political satire in prose and verse tended to overwhelm and confound the courtiers and government of lord Townshend, fully as much as the formidable opposition. This remarkable effect leads the biographer to relate the current opinions that Mr. Flood had pretensions to the authorship of Junius. And without more than recording a few anecdotes on the subject, he may have had as well sustained pretensions, as some who have been put forward; since hypothetical arguments, however lengthened, in support of a particular and popular personage, do not give greater certainty to the fact.*

A literary inquiry so curious as the authorship of the celebrated letters of Junius, has baffled for years the most ingenious conjectures. The nearer we approach the object of our inquisitiveness, when we are almost about to place the chaplet of immortal bays on the head of the supposed author, he eludes the completion of our labor, —like a delightful delusion of nature which pictures to our vision an imaginary object that we pursue with confidence till nearness informs of its unreality. It is fortunate Junius has left no

* Lord Rosse has been mentioned, as strongly of opinion that Mr. Flood was Junius.

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certain trace of his personal distinctness,—no clue to say, *he* was the man.

Mr. Flood, however, possessed much of the peculiar genius of that writer, and a classic commentator* remarked, when the political warfare was carrying on, that his satire had much of the epigrammatic point of Archilocus. The time Mr. Flood flourished, his politics, his compositions, and his position in society, gave a sort of colouring to the supposition that was hazarded by many of his acquaintances, regarding his identity with Junius. The following anecdotes, however, are all the materials with which the biographer has to sustain the fact. Colonel Luttrel, (the first lord Carhampton), was a great stickler for abuses, particularly in the army and pension estimates; he gave bitter and unmitigated opposition to any measure suggested by Mr. Flood, for their diminution. In one of the letters of Junius the colonel is exhibited in no very enviable position. He happened to visit the house of a friend, whom he found attentively perusing a paper:—'What are you reading?' inquired Luttrel —'A letter of Junius,' responded his friend, 'who do you think is he?'—'Why,' said the colonel, 'to be sure, that d——d fellow, Harry Flood.'

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* Author of the "Principal Characters."

The conjecture of colonel Luttrel operated as a well-attested fact, and gave an acerbity to his observations, within and without the doors of parliament, when opposed by *his* Junius.

When sir Lawrence Parsons was on a visit at Farmley, one evening the conversation turned on Junius. Mr. Flood, who had been in his study, entered the room just as lady Frances said that Junius ought to make his real name known. Mr. Flood sat down, and looked fixedly at lady Frances; the conversation on the authorship dropped, and afterwards Mr. Flood turned it to some other subject. Sir Lawrence Parsons thought he traced, in the manuscript of the letters at Woodfall's, the small, cramped, hand-writing of lady Frances Flood.

The question he put to a connexion of his, is characteristic enough of the man, and of Junius. 'What is your definition of a secret?'—'A circumstance only known to *two* persons.'—'No;' replied Mr. Flood, 'it ceases to be a *secret the moment it is known to any one but yourself.*'

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From 1773 to 1780.

Mr. Flood goes to England.—Letter from lord Camden.—The political coterie of lords Camden and Chatham and Mr. John Pitt.—Lord Charlemont's opinion of men in office, how judged.—Lord Harcourt, Sir John Blaquiere, and Mr. Flood.—Character of a chief secretary for Ireland.—Character of sir John Blaquiere; of lord Harcourt.—An absentee tax supported by government.—Mr. Fortescue's speech and proposition.—The onorous debt.—But two taxes available.—Lampoons on Flood, Hutchinson, and Burgh.—Lord Charlemont's letters.—Mr. Flood, vice treasurer.—His motives explained.—Mr. Jenkinson's and Mr. Webb's letters.—Unfounded statements of Mr. Hardy.—Lord Charlemont's position among Irish patriots.—Acts of the administrations of lords Harcourt and Buckingham.—The volunteers.

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Mr. Flood took his departure for England, where his political connexions were rather influential than numerous. A letter from lord Camden is introduced, to indicate the circle of statesmen he moved in:—

LETTER FROM LORD CAMDEN.

"Sir,

"I was very unfortunate this morning to be abroad when you did me the honor of calling at Camden Place; and I was the more vexed, as I returned not ten minutes after you was departed. I shall hardly forgive your impatience to leave my house, unless you will favor me with a second visit, and

give me an opportunity of renewing an acquaintance which I remember to have been commenced between us some years ago at Bath.* It is hard to say whether I wish it more upon your own account, or upon lord Lifford's recommendation. If you will be only so good as to let me know by a line if you intend me this favor, your letter will reach this place every day in the week at seven o'clock in the morning; but you must not return, as you did to-day, before you have fairly seen the place, as well as the owner.

"From your most obedient, and
"faithful servant,
"CAMDEN."

Aug. 12, 1773, *Camden-place.*

But the principles distinctive of the two great parties contending for power, were apart and inapplicable to the state of Ireland, then a weight of little consequence in the imperial balance of power. The justness of lord Charlemont's opinion on this point is strikingly apposite, when he says to his co-patriot,—"Men in office are to be judged by their actions alone; I will suspend my judgment till I see the good or evil effects of their administration." Such was the uncertain policy with regard to Ireland, when lord Harcourt came over as viceroy. Mr. Flood was written to by sir John Blaquiere, secretary and confidential adviser to his excellency:

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* With lord Chatham and Mr. John Pitt.

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several notes, indicative of the light Mr. Flood was placed in at this juncture, remain; one, however, will suffice to attest the fact.

LETTER FROM SIR JOHN BLAQUIERE.

"*Castle*, 14*th Feb.* 1774.

"DEAR SIR,

"SURELY you must well know that my lord lieutenant is always at home to see you, when you desire it. I am at this moment preparing dispatches, which must be sent off before two o'clock; and I believe we are are all engaged to be in the house soon after that hour. I am, nevertheless, at your service when you please. I shall not stir till I go to the house, and I shall always be happy to wait upon you, being

"Most faithfully,

"your obedient servant, &c.

"J. BLAQUIERE."

He certainly was courted and honored with every degree of confidence by his excellency and the secretary; in return, he lent a dignified support to many of the government measures. The ordinary character of a chief secretary for Ireland is thus described by a contemporary writer.—"The efficient minister of a lord lieutenant is commonly considered as the transient enjoyer of an official department, unconnected with the country, and only concerned to execute with punctuality the orders he had

received. The permanent prosperity of the nation is, with him, a secondary object, while the temporary ease and convenience of his master's government is his aim, and the splendor or emolument of his own administration is his end! But should a secretary attempt to reside in that kingdom to which he had come as a guest of short continuance,—should he have formed there the dearest and tenderest connexions, and should he have acquired, by their means, considerable and extensive property, he is impelled by the most powerful motives to a decided regard for the lasting welfare of the country, and cogently induced to give to the statesman a strong colouring of the character of the citizen."

" Sir John Blaquiere is the only secretary we remember to have resided here after the termination of his ministerial office, and though doubtless during its continuance, some exceptionable measures were introduced and carried, yet one boon was offered to the acceptance of Irishmen, of such magnitude and importance as could have fully compensated for many faults, and which nothing but the most unaccountable caprice or undue private influence caused to be rejected—*The tax on absentees**—that eminent feature of

* A tax much in favor with the educated and resident proprietary of Ireland, in 1773.

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his administration evinced a sedulous attention to the truest interest of the nation, and a sincere desire to promote it. Without a most fortuitous concurrence of accidents it will never again be offered to our option; but the offer justly entitles sir John Blaquiere to the meed of public gratitude.

As he inherits from nature a masculine understanding and good sense, and has taken pains to store his mind with no small fund of useful and various knowledge, the matter of his speeches has real merit, being pregnant with instruction and weighty with information; not heedlessly gleaned or negligently produced, but selected with judgment and prepared with ability. Since he ceased to be a minister, though possibly, too compliant in general with his successors in office, he has, in a variety of instances, manifested a warm inclination to promote the trade, to improve the manufactures, and to advance the agriculture of Ireland.

Such is the biographic notice of sir John Blaquiere,* written by a member of the Irish university, a person† of no ordinary powers of discrimination, and from the anonymous character he assumed, may be fairly supposed to have written his characters without undue bias.

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* Mr. Hardy treats him with contemptuous pleasantry.

† Mr. Scott, M. A.

Of lord Harcourt it may be said, he was distinguished for benevolence, generosity and kindness,—those "*leniores animæ virtutes*," which captivate the affections. In his political capacity he is represented as a different personage from lord Townshend, "being fitted quietly to follow the directions of the British ministry," but after an administration of between four and five years he was removed because *he was not* sufficiently obsequious.* His endeavours to ameliorate Ireland were numerous, considering the portentous difficulties Great Britain as well as Ireland had to contend with.

In the Autumn of this year, 1773, Mr. Flood and lord Charlemont returned to Ireland. The object of the former was to obtain from lord North a favorable consideration of commercial propositions and a moderate tax on "monies *transmitted to landlords not residing in the kingdom*." At that time there appeared no other possible means of alleviating the country, burthened with a national debt of nearly a million. A right honorable member, Mr. Fortescue, energetically defined the subject in these words:—"When I mention the word *absentee*, I mean a person possessed of landed property in this kingdom which he never sees, and where he has

* Gordon's History, vol. II.

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no habitation, out of which he draws as much money, and spends as little in it, as he possibly can. We have gone on in the old Irish way heaping debt upon debt,—Pelion upon Ossa,—till like the giants of old, we are now crushed with the weight of them."

The only two taxes available were, one on imported beer, the other on absentees, but of such limitation that would not lead to a general land tax. The proposition of this distinguished senator (Mr. Fortescue) was simply,*—"That one shilling in the pound be taxed on all *sums actually remitted* out of the kingdom to *absentee landlords*."

Mr. Flood's proposition was, "that a tax of *two* shillings in the pound should be laid on the net rents and annual profits of all landed property in Ireland, to be paid by all persons who should not *actually reside* in the kingdom for the space of six months in each year." Mr. Hardy says,—"This measure, for a long time past very generally favored by the people of Ireland, was particularly supported by Mr. Flood in the house, and out of doors by lord Charlemont, 'who, however, was by no means so zealous in the sequel for its adoption.'" Mr. Hardy in his anxiety to adapt his statements to

* Gentleman's Magazine, 1773. † Hardy, vol. 1. p. 331.

the opinions of the time in which he wrote, (1812), and for a particular party, has laid himself open to be contradicted by the evidence of lord Charlemont's letters; for in one of these he writes to Mr. Flood,—"an administration which, as you may well remember, I, even at first, *amidst all its flattering promises*, suspected, and which in every instance, one only excepted, —the absentee tax,—I had strenuously and uniformly opposed." The noble earl supported* the absentee tax on three several occasions. Twice when proposed by Mr. Fortescue and Mr. Flood, in the first part of lord Harcourt's government; and then again when Mr. Flood was vice treasurer, and moved by him as a minister of the crown.

It has been sophistically stated that,—"this tax was very generally favored by the *people* of Ireland,"—as if this portion of the community were of minor or indifferent consequence, compared with the great land holders. If this financial scheme was untoward, so were the necessitudes of the Irish nation. The tax was not unprecedented or an innovation, for it was practised in the reign of Richard the second. It is fair to assume it was considered applicable to the exigencies of the kingdom in 1773, for the

* By the vote of the Hon. Mr. Caufield, M. P. for Charlemont.

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divisions in the commons were nearly balanced, having been 12 to 14,* and the last time a motion was made by Mr. Flood, it was thrown out by ministers changing their views during the debate.

Long preceding the acceptance of office by Mr. Hussey Burgh and Mr. Flood, innumerable pasquinades and satires issued from the press written with the most poignant sarcasm, clothed in such classic attire that something pleasant was extracted from their very bitterness.†

The provostship was first conjectured as likely to satisfy at once ambition and avarice in Mr. Flood; and the duke of Leinster was to find a post for his *protegé*, Burgh. A school-master named Irwine, first invoked the classic muse at the altar of the black Nemesis, not, indeed, to reward, (one of the attributes of the goddess), the virtues of these statesmen, but to chastise them for joining *any* administration, however promising! The inexorable Parcæ had determined to cut the thread of their political existence. Irwine was certainly the most distinguished of these jealous patriot-poets, and his imitations of the drama of Æschylus should adorn this work,—though the "*dramatis*

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* Annual Register, 1773.

† Translations from the Greek, in dramatic verse, dedicated to Flood and Burgh.

personæ" be all the monstrous progeny of Tartarus,—had circumstances permitted. However, his arrangement was a strophe, antistrophe, and chorus, with an apposite application of mythic names to the objects of his vengeance.

The poet's vaticinations were, however, not strictly indicative of the official cast of places. Mr. Hussey Burgh accepted the high legal rank of prime serjeant; some time after, Mr. Hutchinson honored the university of Ireland by becoming provost; and lastly, in October, 1775, Mr. Flood was gazetted to the office of vice-treasurer, and, at the time, a privy councillor in both kingdoms.

Lord Harcourt had now a united force of influence and talent; the hon. Mr. Caulfield had supported his excellency, notwithstanding lord Charlemont remained aloof.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin, March* 18*th*, 1775.

"After a tedious and anxious expectation, so tedious indeed, that expectation was almost lost in despair, a letter was at length brought me from my dear Flood; I new the superscription, for I had not yet forgot your hand-writing, and opened and read it with the utmost eagerness. It comes from you—it contains assurances of your friendship—it is a mark of your remembrance, and, as such, I thank you for it; but is it

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exactly such a letter as the unprecedented interval in our correspondence, your former kind and unlimited confidence, and our long and uninterrupted friendship, had given me reason, nay, perhaps a right to expect at the present crisis? I dare not answer this delicate question. Ask your own heart, for mine may be mistaken. At least, I am sure that the two first pages are perfectly useless: they are filled with excuses for not having sooner answered the notification of my son's birth. Excuses are civil, but are they friendly? I wanted no answer —it was not an answer—it was a letter I expected: but no more of this—already I have said more than I intended; but there is a jealous sensibility in real friendship; it is alive all over, and smarts at the slightest touch of neglect. Neither is it always possible to restrain its effusions; and, writing to you, why should I endeavour it? I have been ill too, nervously ill, and of consequence am the more easily wounded. Disorders of this kind have upon the mental eye an effect nearly similar to that of the jaundice upon the corporeal organ, and the mind tinges every object with its own dark colour. I have, indeed, been very ill, and various vexations have contributed to make me so; but the approaching fine season may be of service, and, if matters should turn out as I wish, the bustle of next winter may prevent any ill consequence from that unsalutary time of the year.

"You know this place too well to expect much news, and are too much engaged in the important transactions of the busy metropolis to prize any which I might be able to send you from hence. A relation of grievances is not pleasant, and in truth I have nothing else to send you. Every day produces new cause of complaint. The present administration is such as to make us look back even upon the last with regret, and this *leaden* is even worse than the former *iron* age; in short, my *visionary* hopes that there might be a possibility of seeing such an administration in this country, as might induce me to alter my mode of conduct, are now absolutely at an end; and

I firmly believe that, however ineffectually, I shall remain an opponent even to my dying day. You have, no doubt, heard of the college transactions: they have been whimsically entertaining; but H—— and Mason have, I fear, ruined the cause, and given triumph to the adversary, by refusing to sign the most reasonable, and indeed, at present, the most necessary, of tests. Yelverton, who has consented to sign it, is, as I hear with pleasure, likely to succeed; the provost, finding it impossible to bring in the two members, will, it is supposed, join him, in opposition to his first antagonists, and by that means may possibly bring in his son.

"When shall I see you in Ireland? I never longed for it more, and that for many cogent reasons. I have a thousand things to say to you. I wish you also to account for your long and unprecedented silence, which my heart assures me you will be able to do in the most satisfactory manner. Indeed, my dearest Flood, notwithstanding the apparent gloom of my letter, that heart is still the same, and confidently believes your's to be unalterable; and bereft, as I have been for a tedious interval, of every support to my confidence, I still trust that the *idem velle* and *idem nolle*, that only true basis of friendship, will still subsist between us, and that I shall ever remain, as I now am, most sincerely,

"Your warmest and truest friend,

"Charlemont."

"Since I wrote the above, I am informed that Yelverton absolutely disclaims the smallest connexion with the provost. So much the better; and I the more ardently wish him success. There will be many elections warmly disputed, and some changes; whether for the better time will show—for the worse they can hardly be. All our respects to lady Frances. My love to such friends as you may see."

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The noble earl's brother, shortly after the date of this letter, was lost in his passage from Holyhead to Dublin, where his parliamentary duties called him; and we find in two or three of his lordship's letters the most delicate tender of the borough of Charlemont to his friend—"I wish I were armed with an hundred votes, or what would be nearly equal, with your unbiased tongue to render my opposition thoroughly effectual. Yes, from the bottom of my heart, I do most sincerely hate and detest our present administration.

"Exclusive of public motives, for *private reasons*, if private they may be called,—it seduced my brother, and has done far worse—it has endeavoured to seduce my friend!" In the same epistle the amiable lord writes—"Nothing, not even the acknowledged fallibility of human nature—even in the best of men—can give me a right, even for a moment, to suppose that you are capable of acting otherwise than as you ought; yet, what I have written you must see, for I should esteem it a crime against friendship to conceal from you any thought of mine which in any way regarded you. Neither can I fear that anything contained in this letter can possibly displease you, when you consider that all I have written proceeds from two motives only, which are, I am confident, equally dear to you—Friendship and Patriotism."

After forcibly putting the argument of opposition and patriotism being thereby discredited among the people, the earl adds—"that of public confidence, I am certain, applies more precisely to you than any man since the fall of Pulteney—

——— 'Facilis descensus Averni:
Noctes atque dies petet atri janua Ditis:
Sed revocare gradum, suprasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est,———'"

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin, June 5th,* 1775.

"MEPHÆUS, a madman of the fourteenth century, wrote an additional book to the Æneid; and some blockhead or other, if I remember right, even hazarded a supplement to the Iliad! These are authorities, though by no means excuses: yet, bad as it is, (and it cannot be worse than I think it,) take what follows:—

Hence with that adage proud,
By haughty stoics preached aloud,
That virtue is its proper meed!
No; bounteous heaven, her sons t' incite,
Hath plac'd in view the guerdon bright,
A guerdon bright indeed!
'Tis fame—for this MY HENRY stands
Firm in his country's cause!
'Gainst ev'ry foe her right maintains,
Asserts her liberty, her laws;
And views with scorn the hireling bands
Of mercenary, willing slaves,
Exulting in their chains!

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For this the tyrant's frown he braves;
Nor can the tempter's dangerous skill
Decline the soul to ill,
Or stoop his mind to shame!
Though from her cloud of vapours bland
Rais'd from th' exhausted land,
Dark corruption round him shower
Riches, titles, pomp, and power,
Unmov'd his steady course he bends
To where the glitt'ring goal ascends,
And gains eternal fame!

"Heaven grant that it may be so; that you may ever retain unimpaired those honors for which you were born; and that you may still continue an object of my admiration, as I feel you ever must be the object of my love. Such are the zealous, the warmest wishes of a faithful, a tender, but, alas! an anxious heart; which, though it be sufficiently sanguine to hope the best, still, in a matter so essential to all its feelings, cannot be entirely void of fears. Indeed, my dearest, dear Flood, I am completely miserable about you. This impenetrable gloom of mystery which still hangs over you—this cloud which shadows and obscures the pious Æneas, disagreeably puzzles my hopes, though it cannot extinguish them. I had flattered myself that our meeting might have cleared the important point; but still shadows, clouds, and darkness rest upon it! Many and many are the causes which render this state of uncertainty highly distressful to me; and you know me well enough to guess them all. Yet there is one cause which, whatever it may cost me, for both our sakes, I think it my duty to mention. You remember an interesting conversation that passed between us not long before your departure. At that time, as you may well judge by the tenor of my conduct, compared with your knowledge of my sentiments, I was thoroughly persuaded that you were as I wished you. *I*

*then flattered myself with a hope of the most pleasing kind; and was almost selfish enough to wish that you might have occasion to make use of my offer.** *But alas! that dear object of my heart is now, I doubt, unattainable. The uncertainty of your present situation, notwithstanding my trust and confidence in you, renders the execution of that darling project* morally *impossible. For, though I would still stake my life and fortune upon the propriety of your political conduct, my conscience tells me that I have no right to hazard that which is not my own, but which I hold in trust for my country. One method alone remains, which would perfectly reconcile my wishes to my duty, and would make me the happiest of mortals. But this I need not now mention, and, if ever the mentioning of it should be necessary, I would much rather it came from you than from me.* But no more of this;—what I have already said has shaken every nerve in my frame. It has come from me like the tearing away a forked arrow. Neither do I believe it was necessary, as I am certain that you are sufficiently acquainted with my heart, and with all its feelings, to know as well as I do all that passes therein, upon this delicate point. Indeed, I should have mentioned it when we last met, but the joyful surprise of our meeting, and the suddenness of your departure, afforded me no opportunity. Adieu, my dearest, dear Flood—I can write no more. Indeed I am not well—my family, too, is still distressed. My child, though better, is not yet well, and Mary is of consequence still uneasy; an anxiety of which I thoroughly partake.—Adieu.

"Believe me ever unalterably,

"your faithful, and

"truly affectionate friend,

"CHARLEMONT."

* The borough of Charlemont.

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"Upon reading over my letter, I am thoroughly persuaded that I have given myself a deal of unnecessary trouble, certain as I am, from my thorough knowledge of your sentiments, of your heart, and of its feelings and friendship for me, that this matter must long since have appeared to you exactly in the same light as it does to me."

"That the noble earl would have chosen Flood above any other man, to represent his borough interest, in the event of such interest being required to secure his return to parliament, is clear, we think, from the intimation which this letter contains; and the manner in which principle triumphs over personal regards, and the patriot rises above the friend, reminds us of the purest days of Grecian and Roman virtue. Flood must have been greatly struck by the noble lord's magnanimous candour, as well as touched by his affectionate expostulations."*

On Mr. Flood's return to his seat, Farmley, in the county Kilkenny, he received the following letter, which is the last extant prior to his acceptance of office.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin, June 15th,* 1775.

"My dearest, dear Flood,

"As you promise to write to me with respect to the principal subject of my last, I will at present enter no farther

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* Dublin University Magazine.

into that point; neither do I think it by any means necessary, as I am thoroughly confident that all my ideas upon that head, and all the thoughts of my heart with regard to it, are as well known to you as they can be to myself. Of this, indeed I was fully convinced, even before you told me so: and my letter was rather calculated to confirm and to justify your already formed opinion, than to give you any information respecting my sentiments, which, how deeply soever they may be impressed on my soul, I wear so much on the surface, that one far less quicksighted than you are, both from natural sagacity, and from the sympathy of friendship, might easily have discovered them.

"The letter which I wrote in answer to your's from England, desiring intelligence with regard to some particular points and persons, was wholly taken up with a matter which appeared to me far more important than any information I could have communicated. I could, indeed, only have said in general, that administration was unpopular, even among its own creatures —that the few real good men were daily more and more confirmed in their opinion of the rectitude and necessity of opposition; that the fluctuating band would probably be fixed by their dislike to the secretary, and by the critical period of the parliament; that a proper and unusual spirit seemed to be rising in the country, especially in the northern parts; and that the particular person at whom you hint, was likely, as well from interest as from a sort of acquired principle, to be firm and active, provided only he were assured of concurrence and support, an assurance which the tenor of the last session seemed to give him some right to require. This was all I knew; and even this appeared to me a ground-work sufficient on which to build a respectable opposition; at least it was certainly so to one who thinks as I do, that, though every possible method is to be pursued towards the strengthening a national party, yet that a failure in success, or even a certainty of defeat, is no reason for ceasing to oppose, where there is well-grounded reason for opposition. In truth,

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my dearest friend, I am well nigh sick of politics, and begin to think that the utmost an honest man can do, in the present state of affairs, is to preserve himself untainted, to watch the turn of the times, in expectation of a more favorable conjuncture, and to act, in the mean while, upon every occasion, according to the unbiassed dictates of his conscience. An opposition, exclusive of its success, is, I am convinced, essentially and indispensably necessary to the existence of a constitution circumstanced as ours is; and the more respectable and formidable it is, the better. I am also thoroughly persuaded that no season ever called for and warranted opposition more than the present. The share I shall have in this party, the part I shall act, will ever be unimportant. Yet I have a name —I have a character—I have, however inconsiderable it may be, an hereditary following; and nothing will, I trust, ever be able to induce me—no, not all the wealth and pre-eminence that kings can bestow, though I am, through my own folly, a needy man, and though I am by no means unambitious of the power of serving my friends,—to withdraw my mite from the almost exhausted treasury of the nation. There it shall lie; small as it is, it lies there free from interest! With regard to the plans of union, and to all those means which you call human, I should be happy and proud, according to the utmost extent of my abilities, to co-operate in them. But though they should fail, as it is by no means improbable they may; though our numbers should be reduced to the few perhaps imprudent men who think as I do; nay, though I were left alone, unassisted, and derided for my singularity, I should think it still my duty to myself, however unprofitable it might be to my country, to stand alone; and, in doing that which I should deem right, to dissent from every one. Every possible means to procure success, or to render even defeat in some degree profitable, ought undoubtedly to be pursued. *But rectitude, in the end,* though it cannot command success, can never fail in one great and important point,—the satisfaction of our own

conscience. Were I the member of a Roman republic, and that there existed a Cæsar, I trust I should act the part of Cato in one instance only excepted--that I would die in the attempt of the tyrant's destruction, rather than by my own hand. Excepting that single particular, he acted, I think, the only part which was left him to act. *The gods take care of Cato!* So they did; they gave him spirit to save himself from slavery, and to eternize his date by an immortal crown.

"With respect to the declaration to which you allude, I am heartily sorry, my dearest friend, that we differ in opinion. There is no point which I have weighed more carefully; and upon the most mature consideration, I am so thoroughly convinced of the propriety of that measure, in the present situation of affairs, that, were I myself now a candidate, I would not suffer myself to be elected without having previously made such a declaration, every one of which I look upon to be, as far as it goes, a partial place-bill, and the only one assuredly within our reach. I can, however, easily conceive a difference of sentiments upon this head: and according to his own opinion every man must act. But that this is the light in which I see it, and the only light in which I probably ever shall see it, you have kindly and fairly concluded from the hint hazarded in my last letter.

"You tell me that you wish I should pay you a visit at Farmley; so do I most sincerely—nothing could give me more pleasure. Is there upon earth a man I love more than you, or in whose company I find more delight? My affection for you must be proof against every thing; since even an interval of deviation, (it is, thank fate! no more,) in the *idem sentire de Republica* has not been able to affect it. But indeed, my dearest friend, I am by no means as yet in a state of health for excursions—I am still liable to those cursed attacks upon my head and eyes, which make my life miserable; and have at this instant, in order to obviate them, a perpetual blister upon my neck. Till the physicians permit me to leave off this troublesome remedy, it

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is impossible for me to stir from home; and this was the principal reason why I did not see you in England. They flatter me, however, that a little time will put an end to this disagreeable necessity; and as soon as I can be certain that the stopping of the blister is attended by no ill consequence, I shall be at liberty to take my pleasure, that is to say, to visit you.

"Your friendship, and not your judgment, approves of the lines I sent you. The approbation, however, makes me happy, for I would much rather you were my friend than my judicious admirer. But I am not a little vexed at your supposing I could have a better theme.

"Farewell my dearest, dear Flood. All our compliments to lady Frances; and believe me, ever unalterably,

"Your faithful and

"truly affectionate friend,

"CHARLEMONT."

"Lady C. directs this letter, and it is sealed with a Medusa's head, for fear of openers."

Mr. Flood succeeded in the office of vice treasurer of Ireland,* Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards lord Hawkesbury, whose predecessor had been the earl of Chatham.

The British cabinet was embarrassed by the unfavorable turn which external politics had taken; and the ill-starred policy of lord North

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* Since the days of sir Henry Sidney to the time of Mr. Flood, the office of vice-treasurer had been considered the best appointment of the crown in Ireland. It was useless in later times.

required the assistance of an individual who directed or influenced the greater part of the Irish commons. The invidious, however, considered his acceptance as a dereliction from the consistency of party views; and others, a desertion of the national cause. He had, therefore, to contend with the malicious insinuations of avowed enemies, and the aspic venom of anonymous assailants.

Conscious rectitude may afford to contemn ordinary slander, which emanates from a superficial knowledge of the conditions, or crude examination of the motives of the person. But lord Charlemont's epistolary interposition with his friend arose from the most elevated consideration.

The first symptom of that jealous guardianship of every honorable and patriotic action is contained in the preceding letters; and among the many admirable ones, those selected for this volume are most delineative of the motives and actions of the noble earl and his friend. They discover, too, the distrustful opinions of lord Charlemont with regard to administrations generally, when the improvement of the social condition of the people of Ireland was concerned.

Doubtless, Mr. Flood must have been deeply affected by the arguments and sentiments of an individual so ardently devoted to his country,

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who, while his mind presented the justest reflections on "the patriot in office and out of office," his heart infused the warmth of an affectionate regard.

We find the delicacy of this negotiation, which was pending for a considerable time, unfolded in the subsequent letter from Mr. Flood to lord Harcourt, then viceroy.

LETTER FROM MR. FLOOD.

"1775.

"My Lord,

"About two months since, when I had the honor to receive a message from your excellency, offering me the vice-treasurership, I reminded your excellency that above a year ago I signified to you in writing, by a friend of mine, that I was not to be considered as a person who had pledged himself to accept that office; and that if any thing had passed that led your lordship to that opinion, it was no longer to be regarded as having passed. The writing remains, and is alone sufficient to prove that I cannot be charged with causing the vice-treasurership to be vacated, or Mr. Fox's pension to be granted, both of which events were long subsequent.

"Seeing afterwards in the London papers, however, various reports about such a negotiation, I went, before last Christmas, to a person of consequence in England, your excellency's *friend* and mine, who had interposed with me first on the subject of government, and to him I declared, in the most express terms, that I would not accept that office: that person did convey this to Mr. Jenkinson; Mr. Jenkinson has since

told me he refused to communicate it as a message to your lordship; but I was never apprised of that refusal; nor can his not communicating my desire affect me on the share I had in the matter, which was none at all. Mr. Jenkinson certainly knew my declaration before any negotiation began with him, or with Mr. Fox; hence it is clear that I was not responsible for that pension. I saw that it must be highly disagreeable to your excellency to be stated in England as having vacated, by strong means, an office of rank, without sufficient authority from the person to whom it was to be offered. I wished to disembarrass you by any reasonable concession; I wished to lighten the burden to the public; and if I could do neither by an absolute refusal, and both by a conditional accepting of it, I thought it a duty to the public so to accept it, retaining to myself the power of relinquishing it at any time when public duty demanded such a relinquishment. I declined the office, therefore, as it came originally to me with the burden upon it; but said that, if it should come eased as to that incumbrance, I should not object to it. In a subsequent conversation, Mr. Jenkinson stated, that, by a retrenchment of £1000 a year, viz., the additional salary of the Almager, Mr. Fox's pension would be counterbalanced all but £700 a year; and that by your raising of the absentee tax, the net burden of the whole pension would be but about £350. To this state of the matter, the restoration to the kingdom of a great office with a considerable salary was to be added, which in one light was a point of decorum and dignity to the country, and in another was a point of pecuniary advantage and national saving. I confessed that this state altered the matter: it brought it so near in effect to the idea I had originally stated, as one upon which I was capable of accepting the office, that I thought it but candour to say, that upon that ground I could concur on the subject, and possibly disembarrass your excellency. Your lordship seeming to doubt that lord North might have disposed of the office in the interim, asked me whether I desired you should write to stop

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him from doing so; I SAID NOT, MY MOTIVE BEING TO DISEMBARRASS YOUR LORDSHIP, AND TO SERVE THE PUBLIC, WHEREAS THAT WOULD HAVE THE APPEARANCE OF ASKING THE OFFICE FOR MY PERSONAL EMOLUMENT.

"I have the honor to be,

"your excellency's most obedient,

"and most humble servant,

"HENRY FLOOD."

It would appear that no person could have been more sensitive of his public character, from the stipulations on which alone he acceded to the offer of becoming vice-treasurer of Ireland; besides the above explanatory letter, it was agreed to make the "absentee tax" a government question, with many other measures of a more liberal and extensive tendency. That these benefits were urged chiefly by Mr. Flood both in the privy council and the house of commons, during lord Harcourt's viceroyalty,—that a political land tax on absentees had, at first, the approbation of the English and Irish governments, are sufficiently authenticated by lord Rockingham's letter, wherein his lordship says:—"Lord North's *second* answer to *our* application contains an explicit account of the design. It is coloured over with the usual pretences of supplying the revenue and restoring

public credit. But if the ordinary revenue of Ireland, by any management, is become, now in the time of profound peace, so unequal to the establishments as to require extraordinary aids, we cannot conceive that the necessity of new taxes can furnish a reason for imposing such as are *unjust.* * * * * Many gentlemen* of consideration for their interests and abilities, will oppose this project in Ireland; but, with the *previous countenance it has received here*, it is to be apprehended their opposition may prove ineffectual, and that the tax may be transmitted to England before the end of November."† There cannot be a more complete proof of lord Rockingham's ignorance of the financial distress of Ireland and the burden of taxation and restriction with which it was afflicted; neither was there any tax‡ more *just*, because *then* the absentees were, compared with the period since the union, few but of immense wealth, and hence able to bear the very moderate imposition of *two* shillings in the pound. Tiberius Gracchus could not have suggested a more disinterested imposi-

* Those who were *nominees*, a very numerous body indeed.

† Letter to lord North.

‡ The effect of this tax would have been to secure a resident nobility and gentry; consequently, local improvements around them, and a general extension of the ways of social order: facts that no sophistry, even from a political economist, can distort.

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tion; and it was righteous because it saved the poor and needy, and fell on the affluent, luxurious, and anti-national. Lord Charlemont, Mr. Brownlow, and Mr. Fortescue concurred with Mr. Flood, in the propriety of this measure, and their opinions, founded on a personal knowledge of their country, were of far more weight than the sophistical and selfish protests of the five dissentient peers to whom lord North succumbed. Besides, throughout Ireland the project was received with acclamation.

The political reader ought to consider lord Charlemont the point on which all the great luminaries corradiated, and he reflected a brilliancy that was not his own. His delicate health, and his inability to speak in public, limited his efforts to protests and interpositions. His gentle nature was more remarkable for the *leniores virtutes*, than bold pre-eminent genius. He, therefore, directed his influence to secure co-incident views in some individual leader of the opposition in the Irish house of commons.

The circumstance of dean Marley recommending his young relative, Mr. Grattan, then a barrister, to the noble earl for the representation of the borough of Charlemont, was a fortunate accident for the fame of both. And when the oratorical powers of Mr. Grattan attained a certain importance, from *that* moment lord

Charlemont rose conspicuously into notice as a politician. But the impediments nature placed in the composition of his character, irremediably determined that he must be dependant on the abilities and popularity of another, for political renown, and though he might have been eminently good, (and really was so) yet he never *alone* could have been transcendantly great. He was estimated therefore, in his political career by the aggregate body according to the administration, when his timid reserve was more or less manifest; during the Rockingham cabinet, when all was unanimity, his position was brilliant and he shone forth with the lustre of the eminent men who gained the triumph of the constitution; but in the ministry of Mr. Pitt, when the political atmosphere was more troubled, he faded away almost imperceptibly.

Though a reformer and supporter of an absentee tax, yet he was against the extension of the elective franchise to catholics, and against any measure which appeared democratic: hence he alternately countenanced and discouraged the volunteers and the delegates of the four provinces of Ireland.

The intimation which we find in the letter of Mr. Jenkinson may be considered a semi-official notification to his successor; and it is important as it alludes to the difficulties that arose in the

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negotiation, which are minutely described by Mr. Flood himself in his letter to lord Harcourt, and referred to by his confidential friend Mr. Webb in a communication here subjoined :—

LETTER FROM MR. JENKINSON.

"*London, Oct.* 18*th*, 1775.

"DEAR SIR,

"BY a letter from Dublin I understand that you have determined to accept the office of vice-treasurer; and I see by the gazette that the king has already signed a letter, appointing you to be my successor. Allow me to take this early opportunity of expressing the joy which I feel on this occasion. As a private man, I take a warm and sincere part in every advantage that happens to yourself; AND I LAMENT THAT IN THE PROGRESS OF THIS BUSINESS ANY THING SHOULD HAVE HAPPENED THAT WAS DISAGREEABLE TO YOU. As a public man, I rejoice that the king has brought into his service a gentleman of so great importance, and of such distinguished abilities. Permit me, at the same time, to make my acknowledgments to you for the many proofs of friendship and regard which I received from you during my residence in Ireland; and to assure you that I am, with great truth and regard.

"Dear sir,

"Your faithful humble servant,

"C. JENKINSON."

"My best respects attend lady Frances."

LETTER FROM MR. WEBB.

"My Dear Sir,

"Immediately on the receipt of your letter I went to Bath, and put the inclosed manuscript and printed paragraph into hands of quick circulation: the next day I found that the substance of both had made its way into most of the London papers. It is asked—what security hath the public that a salary taken from one office may not be annexed to another? I answer, that it is hard to make you responsible for the temperance or virtue of men in power; that the difficulty which you have thrown upon administration to make an office fit for your acceptance, proves in you a greater attention to the public than to them, and should produce in us a fair presumption that your future conduct with regard to both will be of the same complexion. On this ground, rejecting minuter circumstances, I dwell:—or, as your eloquent secretary would more manfully express it, 'I fix my foot upon this rock.' Heavens! how long shall eloquence assume the part of a prize-fighter, and, half bold, half timid, balance under the shelter of a hanging guard? Restore her, for you can, to her wonted dignity, and look into confusion the printer's devils.

"Farewel, my dear friend. How is your health? How does good lady Frances?

"I am,

"Your ever faithful

"And affectionate friend and servant,

"Daniel Webb."

"*Newton*, 14*th Nov.*, 1775."

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Viewing these papers collectively, they bear clear evidence that the paramount motives of Mr. Flood were to render a high office accessible to Irishmen, hitherto reserved for members of the British cabinet, and next, by becoming a minister, to exercise his influence in the privy council of Ireland in forwarding measures which he had unavailingly debated in parliament. Before tracing in a very transient manner, the most remarkable features of the governments of the lords Harcourt and Buckingham, which comprise the term of Mr. Flood's official capacity, we must be permitted to correct some misrepresentations to be found in the very partial work of Mr. Hardy.

There are feelings of the heart which instinctively influence us to guard the laurel on the consecrated tomb of genius, from wanton aggression, or unsustained aspersion; at the time that our noblest feelings are thus exerted, the mind controls them within truth and justice.

Mr. Hardy has stated—"Mr. Flood's object in accepting a lucrative situation was the large addition to his income, exhausted as his estate then was by parliamentary and election contests of various kinds," this is unfounded.

Mr. Flood possessed about five thousand pounds a year unincumbered, exclusive of the fortune he got with lady Frances Beresford. He had no children—the elections from 1759 to 1768 were three.

The first was an uncontested election for the county Kilkenny; the second, on the accession of George the third; and again, after the passing of the octenniel bill: it may be, the second and third were contested, but the constituents of Kilkenny or Callan were not numerous, and tenants always voted with their landlords. The above facts are stated from the impression, that even the most veracious are not to be depended on, where they make an averment and give no authority for it. Mr. Hardy again, has stated, "till Mr. Flood's acceptance of office, he was the uniform friend and supporter of lord Charlemont: their *intimacy then ceased.*"* * * * * * * *

The whole tenor of the noble earl's correspondence, both on the eve of the appointment of Mr. Flood, and immediately subsequent, renders this likewise unfounded, but the following sentence is too apposite not to be cited:—"My affection," says lord Charlemont, "for you must be proof against every thing; since even an interval (it is, thank fate! no more) in the *idem sentire de republica* has *not been able to affect it.*" So much for the authority of Mr. Hardy. In like manner on many particulars, he has been more anxious to establish his own partial views, than the truth of the

* The indelicacy of such a statement, without evidence, or the possibility of knowing accurately, is more malicious than veracious.

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transactions. Passing unnoticed Mr. Hardy's epithets of "defection" and "rays of vanity," we arrive at a more plausible paragraph.

"At such a period Mr. Flood indulged himself with the prospect of an almost entire ascendancy in the cabinet of Ireland. He flattered himself that his talents could easily sway a very amiable, very well bred incurious old nobleman, and an active, adroit colonel of dragoons. In short, like the Roman lyric poet, on another occasion, he menaced many and charming things, and like him too, he lived amid such menaces and his new occupations nor rightly according to the ideas of others, nor agreeable to himself. He soon discovered that the vice-treasurership was given to him not to call forth any novel ambition, but as far as it could effect it, to extinguish even the embers of the old. The castle of Dublin was, to him, the castle of indolence, and, like other Irishmen of eminence, in those days, however he might endeavour to win his way to power and emolument, by public activity, he could only obtain both by public repose."

This is altogether a misrepresentation.

"No despicable plans of private emolument—no paltry schemes of party interest debased the dignity of his character, or reduced him to the low level of common men; but his object was the national welfare, and to improve the condition

of the *people*."* In the obituary of considerable persons† there is a lengthened account. Mr. Hardy compiled his book in 1812 (twenty-two years after the death of Mr. Flood,) under circumstances which we presume made him forgetful of, or indifferent to, that classical recommendation which Doctor Middleton says was Cicero's, "that a writer should not dare to affirm what was false, or to suppress what was true; nor to give any suspicion of either favor or disaffection."

To form our notions of a great man from some separate points of conduct without regarding their connexion with the whole, or the figure that they make in his general character, is like examining things in a microscope which were made to be surveyed in the gross; every mole rises into a mountain, and the least spot into a deformity, which vanish again into nothing when we contemplate them in their proper medium, and in their natural light."‡

However party feelings may have endeavoured to mislead, it cannot be denied that lord Harcourt administered the government of Ireland in a high-minded and beneficent manner. The first act on his arrival in the country, was calculated to augur well. An extension of advantages to the

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* Principal Characters. † Gentleman's Magazine, 1791.
‡ Doctor Middleton.

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Roman catholic propriatory, which was received with acclamation and gratitude by them.—The second was an absentee tax to enable the revenue to meet the ordinary expenditure; and thus by a simple mode to avoid a complicated system of finance, called "the Tontine scheme." *—The third was the reduction of the twelve commissioners of the revenue to seven, by which act alone twenty thousand a year was saved, a considerable item in the Irish budget; these commissioners were men of powerful interest, which rendered their diminution a greater difficulty than can well be imagined in the present time. The fourth was a saving of the salary of the vice-treasurer, of three thousand five hundred a year; as explained in the letter of Mr. Flood to lord Harcourt. The fifth, the passing of a militia law in the Irish commons: moved by Mr. Ogle, at the request of Mr. Flood. The sixth, the relaxation of certain commercial restrictions. The seventh, —(the last act of the government of lord Harcourt)—His excellency, in November, 1775, sent a message to the commons, desiring their concurrence with the king's intention to send four thousand men to America, thereby disburdening the Irish finances of nearly one hundred thousand a year. These soldiers were to be replaced by an

* Gordon's History of Ireland.

equal number from England, without adding to the expenditure of Ireland.

The embargo which was placed on Irish exports can in no way be attributed to the government of lord Harcourt. It was, in fact, an exercise of the prerogative which nothing less than the untoward exigencies of Great Britain could justify.

The social war with America annihilated, for a time, the commercial resources of the capitalists at home ; and, therefore, compelled lord North to recommend an act of the crown, which necessitated Ireland to share in the calamities which endured for two years.

The efflux of Irish commodities was but scanty, —a limited supply of linens and provisions : nor was Ireland capable of carrying on, at this period, an extensive and important trade with foreign states, owing to the long continued commercial restrictions, which settled trade and capital in the neighbour-kingdom.

The sending four thousand men to America, and the two years' embargo, formed two points of exclamation in the famous invective of Mr. Grattan, in 1783, (seven years after), but, however we may admire the rhetorical figures of that ardent orator, yet the first was with the concurrence of both legislatures, in both kingdoms ; and the second an act of *prero-*

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gative, during the prorogation of the Irish parliament.

Neither lord Harcourt nor Mr. Flood, in point of constitutional history, deserved to be stigmatized for acts arising from the necessitudes of the empire.

His excellency was now *removed* from the viceroyalty of Ireland. Why?—Because he had not sustained the plan of government laid down by his predecessor, lord Townshend; or, as an historian* expresses himself,—"because he was not energetic and obsequious enough to the British cabinet."

The criteria by which we ought to be guided in our opinion of lord Harcourt, are the measures passed by the legislature with the support of government, the colonial embarrassments, diplomatic relations with foreign powers, and the domestic views of the "secret advisers"† of the crown; thus comprehensively considered, his excellency would be rather entitled to the gratitude and praise of Irishmen, than any expression of disparagement.

Before closing this part, it must be mentioned, to Mr. Flood's advantage, that, even at this early period, he urged in the privy council the following important measures, which were embodied in the concessions of 1782:—

* Gordon's Hist. vol. ii. † Wraxall's Memoirs.

A limited mutiny bill for Ireland. That all *altered* money bills should be thrown out. That privy council bills should *not* be defended by the crown.

Every one acquainted with the political history of Ireland,* of times antecedent to this era, must be aware of the importance of three such objects: for these he strove with all the influence of his position.†

The two following letters cannot be omitted, as showing how much the lord lieutenant confided in Mr. Flood, and the sentiments of the latter with regard to his countrymen at a crisis of invasion.

LETTER FROM LORD HARCOURT.

"*Dublin Castle, August* 20.

"SIR,

"I am sorry to hear that the nocturnal meetings are not discontinued, as they may be productive of great disorder and riot. The sheriff of the county has, I apprehend, already sufficient authority to call out the posse comitatus whenever the exigencies of the case may require it; and the army, when called upon, is obliged, in common with all other subjects, to assist the sheriff in the preservation of the peace. Upon inquiry at the office, it does not appear necessary to issue out any particular order to the troops on this occasion; but if you know any two neighbouring justices, either of the county of Kilkenny or Tipperary, a general order shall be lodged in their

* Dr. Campbell's "Political Survey," and Mr. Molyneux's "Case of Ireland considered."

† Gentleman's Magazine, Obituary 1791.

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hands, empowering them jointly to call upon the troops for their assistance, whenever it shall be deemed necessary. If you think such an order would be of use, you will send to Mr. Waite, (in sir John Blaquiere's absence) the names of the two gentlemen in the commission in whose hands you would wish to have it lodged, and the order shall be dispatched without loss of time.

"I had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Warden Flood,* who called upon me the day before yesterday at St. Woolstan's. I heard yesterday from sir J. Blaquiere, who seems now to entertain rather a more favorable opinion of the affair which he is soliciting, than he did for some time; I am sorry, however, it is not in his power to write with more certainty of success, but that depends on others, not on him. I was in hopes the matter would have been decided before now; but in a transaction where more persons than two are unavoidably concerned, delays will happen in spite of all Blaquiere's diligence and activity, which have been fully exerted on this occasion.

"I am, sir,

"with the greatest regard,

"your most humble and obedient servant,

"HARCOURT."

LETTER FROM MR. FLOOD.

"MY LORD,

"PERMIT me to take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the honor of your excellency's communication, and to express my happiness to find that the security of the country is in a state satisfactory to your lordship, whose information is universal and of the best kind.

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* Judge of the high court of admiralty.

"I should not have ventured to have mentioned what I did, but from the testimony of my own eyes in observing how the idea of invasion, when thought certain, affected several here, where I had an opportunity of personal remark. I am perfectly content that my individual safety should depend on that of the public, about which, though I am with reason solicitous, I have as few fears as any body. I do not deny that an enemy may infinitely distress, who cannot conquer. I know that great reliance is to be had on the native valor and generosity of the Irish, and I have not mentioned to any body here what struck me in the countenances of many of the lower order, who have come within my observation.

"My wishes have confided in a favorable reception from your excellency, feeling that they have his majesty's service and the public good for their object.

"I have the honor to be,

"your excellency's most respectful,

"obedient servant,

"H. Flood."

Mr. Charles Townshend, secretary to the new viceroy, addressed the annexed communication to Mr. Flood.

LETTER FROM THE RIGHT HON. C. TOWNSHEND.

"*Stanhope-street, June 29th*, 1777.

"Sir,

"I am extremely obliged to you for the honor of your letter, which I should have acknowledged sooner, had I not entertained hopes of paying my respects to you in person.

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I wished much to have qualified myself in Ireland for the new office to which the king has been graciously pleased to appoint me; but, it being necessary for lord Nugent's health that he should go this summer to Spa, we shall be obliged to keep the king's letter here till the end of August, or the beginning of September next, in order that the great seal of Ireland may not be put to our patent till within less than three months of the meeting of our parliament, when the usual bill enabling us to qualify ourselves here may pass.

"I think it a very fortunate, as well as honorable circumstance for me, that I have two such colleagues as lord Nugent and yourself: you may be assured that I shall be happy to receive your instructions, and to concur with you in every thing which relates to our office.

"I am, with great regard, Sir,

"your most obedient, humble servant,

"CHARLES TOWNSHEND."

No terms could have been more flattering as to the political importance of Mr. Flood than these; and certainly had lord Buckingham been accompanied by such a secretary, much might have been anticipated.

When his excellency did arrive, a Mr. Heron assumed the important duties of the chief secretary's office, and so disgusted those who knew the duties and difficulties of such a post, as to disincline the most eminent to give any but a qualified support. We find Mr. Flood,

when tracing his political conduct, speaking of this period thus—

"I felt myself to be a man of too much situation to be a mere placeman; if not a minister to serve my country, I would not be the tool of salary. I voted with government in matters of importance when they were *clearly right*, and *against* them in matters of importance when they were clearly wrong; and on matters of small moment I did not vote at all."*

No expression is more repugnant to a great mind than,—"*ibimus, ibimus, ut cunque præcedes;*" and no line of conduct could have been more exemplary and high minded than that observed by this statesman.

The moral and social conditions of Ireland were almost the reverse of analagous to those of England; hence, either whig or tory working out rigidly a party policy would so far err, that instead of being remedial, such a course would infallibly be detrimental; because as yet, Ireland had not, practically, an identity of laws and institutions.

The provost, Mr. Hutchinson, published his commercial propositions, which were so patriotic in their character as bear ample testimony that

* Parliamentary Debates, 1783. Vindication.

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the placeman can likewise be deserving of the honorable appellation of patriot.

This pamphlet, probably, suggested to Mr. Hussey Burgh the idea of moving parliament to the consideration of the commercial interests of the kingdom. Mr. Burgh, at the opening of the session of this year, moved the address to his majesty, in which the following sentence was introduced,—"It is not by temporary expedients, but by an extension of trade, that Ireland can be ameliorated." Mr. Flood, who was seated in the vice-treasurer's place, said audibly, "why not a *free trade!*"* The amendment electrified the house; the words were adopted by his friend, and the motion was carried unanimously.

The noble, ingenuous conduct of Mr. Burgh is finely alluded to:—"I shall return once more to the sentiments of that beloved character I have just described.—He was a man over whose life or over whose grave envy never hovered; he was a man wishing ardently to serve his country himself, but not to monopolise the service,—wishing to partake and communicate the glory of what passed. He gave me, in his motion for a free trade, a full participation of that honor."†

At a subsequent stage of this motion, before

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* Barrington and Hardy agree in admitting this fact.

† Parliamentary Debates, 1783.

the British parliament, lord North observed that these commercial advantages were resumable at pleasure—"that the act would be a *boon resumable* at pleasure."* This expression of the premier hurt the rising spirit of the Irish legislature, the consequence was, that Mr. Grattan embodied in a motion one of the propositions with regard to the independency of Ireland to be found in the celebrated little work of Mr. Molyneux, (which has often been referred to in this volume), which engaged the attention of every member of the house. The debate lasted to an unusual hour, and Mr. Secretary Heron collected all the forces of government to oppose this declaration. Mr. Grattan had introduced his proposition in one of his earliest and most impressive efforts of his eloquence; but before he divided the house, Mr. Flood rose, *in office as he was*, and requested him to withdraw his motion, as a majority was engaged to oppose it, Mr. Grattan did so, and thereby a declaration of rights was saved from defeat.

Shortly after the close of lord Buckingham's administration of Ireland, Mr. Grattan, who henceforth appears prominently active in every great measure, made a motion for a "limited mutiny bill;" this was seconded by Mr. Flood, a

* Belsham, vol. iv.

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measure he had already urged in the privy council. It was rejected ; yet the repeated efforts awakened that spirit of independence which assumed so noble and imposing a form but two years subsequent.

The alarm generally felt in both kingdoms about an invasion of the French in Ireland called forth and armed the famous volunteers. This extraordinary army was magically raised without religious distinction. The fabled caduceus had not a more instantaneous spell than that produced by the apprehension of an incursive war. At this momentous period the earl of Buckingham was recalled.

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1780 AND 1781.

Mr. Flood resigns the vice-treasurership.—His reasons.—Mr. Jenkinson declines presenting the resignation to North.—Displeasure of the premier.—Mr. Flood opposes Mr. Eden in some of the most important measures.—The interpolations of Hardy.—Letter from Mr. Webb.—Character of Sir Edward Newenham.—Speech of Mr. George Ponsonby, collated with fictitious passages of Hardy.—Grattan and Flood support a limited mutiny bill.—Motion on Irish trade with the West Indies.—Amusing story of Fitzgibbon, repartee of Flood.—Law of sir Edward Poignings debated by Yelverton and Flood.—The former supported by government, the latter demands a total repeal of the law.—Character of Mr. Yelverton, the Irish Hyperides.—State of the catholic question in 1781.—Opinions of Charlemont, Flood, and Fox.

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TOWARDS the close of the earl of Buckingham's government, Mr. Flood resigned his official situation. The reasons assigned by himself for this step are,—that the legislative measures contemplated by him were not acquiesced in; and, now that the social war carried on against the American settlements had terminated, there was no ostensible grounds for the continuance of restrictions commercial and fiscal.

His resignation had been intrusted to the same friend through whom the first overtures of office

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had been made. This gentleman, instead of tendering the letter to lord North, delayed, hesitated, and finally declined presenting it; probably, from an idea that the vice-treasurership,—the best gift within the patronage of the crown in Ireland,—ought not to be lightly disregarded, and there was no adequate reason for a severance from the cabinet. Be this supposition as it may, it is but just to attribute the most favorable construction to the motives of a person who was esteemed in the light of a friend, however erroneous and detrimental his judgment may have been. Hence there appeared a suddenness in Mr. Flood's opposition, which, had his sentiments been known to the premier, they would have prevented the very marked displeasure, manifested in the act of deprivation of his official rank and a seat at the council board, which happened in the opening session of the lieutenancy of lord Carlisle.

Mr. Hardy has stated in his work, that,—"several members had now joined the ministerial standard, or were disposed to a junction. Mr. Flood, on the contrary, separated himself from administration, and was ironically felicitated by Mr. George Ponsonby (who supported Mr. Eden) on his departure from his long and lamentable taciturnity.*

* Hardy, vol. ii.

O lux Dardanæ, spes O fidissima Teucrum,
Quæ tantæ tenuere moræ ?

"*If* this, or any thing like it, was addressed to him,—*I know not that it was*,—it no way affected his determination." No such felicitation is to be found in the reports, nor does the speech of Mr. George Ponsonby bear any such insinuation. His words on the occasion were :—

" He rejoiced to see the right hon. gentleman, after an eclipse of seven years, burst forth in such a blaze of eloquence. Though at all times he had the utmost reliance upon his judgment and integrity, particularly in the present case, where nothing but public spirit could induce him to risk the loss of one of the best appointments government could bestow ; yet he must differ from him in the representation he had given of this country, Ireland. And he thought he himself was entitled to some credit, when it was considered that he was the son of a man who had given up even the chair of that house rather than support a ministry which he thought was doing wrong. If employments were in his gift, few persons should stand before the right honorable gentleman, but he did not think it unparliamentary to mention the risk he ran from obeying the dictates of conscience."*

* Irish parliamentary debates, vol, i. 1781.

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It is difficult to comprehend how Mr. Hardy could have justified to himself an interpolation, which, however euphonous and classical, conveyed a stigma on a public character not warranted by any impartial testimony, or by the speech to which he alluded. Sir Edward Newenham remarked on the observations of Mr. George Ponsonby, "that he lamented that gentlemen should forfeit their places for acting conscientiously." What did Mr. Flood oppose? —The new secretary's view of the state of the nation;—he opposed the perpetual mutiny bill,—he opposed the war restrictions on Irish trade,—he opposed a *modification* of the law of sir Edward Poynings. Such were the real causes of his opposition to Mr. Eden.

It has been observed by a writer on the public character of Mr. Pitt,—"that few operations of the mind demand a more refined discrimination,—a greater diversity of information,—and a more patient research, than the estimating the motives and actions of men who have been universally allowed to have been eminent; and the very great reserve there ought to be in questioning the propriety of either." How far Mr. Hardy felt and understood this delicacy, we shall have occasion to see in the progress of this work.

Mr. Flood replied:—"The honorable gentleman has said that I am emerged from a seven

years' eclipse.* It is true I supported lord Harcourt's administration; but was I eclipsed when, on several occasions, I went not with them, and stated my reasons for doing so? I also supported lord Buckingham. On that eventful day when a free trade was demanded, was I eclipsed? When a bill of rights was the subject of debate, did I shrink from the question? My ambition has been, when out of office, not to be factious, and when in office, not to be venal.

His friend and constant supporter, sir Edward Newenham, is thus characterised by an able writer.†

"Few representatives have appeared in a more conspicuous station for many years, than sir Edward, and he has attempted, with undeviating assiduity, to acquire the fame of patriotism, and to rival those names rendered illustrious by its glory. Should he in his attempt at any time have trangressed those bounds of moderation beyond which even virtue degenerates into vice, the sincerity of his zeal pleads loudly in his defence, and the rectitude of his intentions sanctifies his conduct."

Of Mr. George Ponsonby anon. He gave his adhesion to lord Carlisle's short lieutenancy,

* In fact, he was not six years in office.

† Author of "Principal Characters."

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and became a placeman in the duke of Portland's.

Mr. Grattan moved for a limited mutiny bill, seconded by Mr. Flood, who said,—that the perpetual mutiny bill was a pillow upon which liberty could never repose—it was a matter that should be reiterated through every period of the session—there was no corner of the kingdom in which it should not be spoken of,—nor was there a person in the kingdom, who had a regard for its freedom, that should not be active in opposing it. The supporters of Mr. Eden said,—that the perpetual mutiny bill was a law for the government of an army, *eventual* on your having an *army*, and your having an army, was eventual on the will of parliament. This sort of sophistry was little calculated to abate the ardour, or deceive the understanding of such men as the mover and seconder, but it sufficed to give the secretary a majority. The discussion of this question produced some of the noblest effects of eloquence, intermingled, however, with an acerbity which nothing but the keenness of debate could excuse. The subsequent anecdote had the effect of dispelling the storm that lowered on the opposition side :—

The attorney-general said—" When I was at the temple, there was a parish clerk who used to raise the psalm, and who went by the name of

Harry Plantagenet. I had taken it into my head that the family of the Plantagenets was quite extinct, and was induced by curiosity to ask this man how he came to be called by that name. Accordingly I went to him one day, and mentioned to him my wish to know his story:—'I was once a king,' said he, 'and reigned with uncontrolled dominion over hounds, greyhounds, beagles, and terriers, by which I have acquired this name; but if you please, I will relate my story at large.' 'Go on, Harry,' said I.—'I lived in the neighbourhood of Windsor forest, when a boy, and used frequently divert myself with hunting the king's deer,'—'Go on Harry,' said I. 'I hallooed, and I shouted so loud and so often, that there was not a dog in the pack but what obeyed my voice—not a lad in the forest but attended my call.'—'Go on, Harry,' said I. 'At last, sir, the chief huntsman, perceiving what command I had over the dogs and the sportsmen, resolved to take me into his pay.'—'Go on Harry,' said I. 'I accepted of his offer; but I now found myself so much at my ease, that I grew indolent, and insisted upon riding out to hunt in *furniture*, for I always loved to hunt in *furniture*,'—'Go on Harry,' said I. 'I was indulged with furniture; but I soon perceived that the younger fellows, who could now outride me, became greater favorites with the chief

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huntsman.'—'Go on Harry,' said I. 'This stung me to the quick, and I determined to pick a quarrel about the fringe of my furniture, which was torn, and which I would have repaired at the chief huntsman's expense.'—'Go on, Harry,' said I. 'I immediately began to hunt in opposition, but not a dog obeyed me, nor a sportsman attended my call.'—'Go on, Harry,' said I. 'I hallooed, and I roared, and I shouted, until I was weary, but still without any effect. I had the mortification to find I had totally lost my influence in the forest, and retired to this parish, to devote the remainder of my days to the making of my soul, and now raise the psalm, and join in the thanksgiving.'"

The attorney-general told this story with infinite humour, and he had scarcely proceeded a few sentences, when the gloom which had prevailed was dispelled, and the house was convulsed with laughter at the point and pleasantry with which he applied his fable.

The suddenness of this witty and successful attack, which was evidently prepared, did not prevent Mr. Flood from making a brilliant repartee, which, perhaps, is more to be admired from the quickness of the impromptu :—

"I cannot perceive the smallest similitude between this story and my situation, except that my name is Harry. I have, indeed, been a

huntsman, but never a whipper-in. The right honorable gentleman has the happy talent of turning every thing to his advantage. When he became an object of popular resentment, he traversed the streets with a guard—he looked melancholy at the bar—sighed in the house—cried in the council-chamber—and blubbered in the ante-room. The people were astonished—the women went into mourning—government, through all her functions, was suspended,—and nothing could allay the general concern, but a plentiful reversion to the right honorable gentleman.

"When the fleets of England made a number of unimportant descents, at a great expense, on the French coast, during the last century, it was wittily said,—'we were breaking panes of glass with *guineas*;'—and though the right honorable gentleman's house is filled with the richest and most costly furniture, yet, I will venture to say, that no part of it cost so much as the CROWN GLASS with which his windows were repaired."

This repartee restored both speakers to good temper, and the house fully enjoyed the amusement thus afforded.

The granting of a "free trade" to Ireland had given rise to many very important commercial questions, and the West Indies was considered the key-stone by which the commerce of Ireland was upheld. Mr. Grattan supported the prin

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ciples that Mr. Flood developed on this particular measure. The "*Jura amicissima gentes*, to speak in fœderal language," said Mr. Flood, "is applicable to Ireland, which is an independent kingdom, having a completely free and supreme legislature of its own; it has, accordingly, a full right to enter into commerce, and conclude treaties with every nation on the globe."

He was for giving expansion to the recently acquired commercial advantages, an impetus to home manufactures, and for legislating in a manner conciliatory and deferential to the British senate. The mere granting a direct trade was insufficient, without a protecting duty, to give vigour and strength, hope and stimulation, to the Irish merchant and refiner. Mr. Eden opposed this view with an overwhelming majority.*

In a memoir like this, it would be misplaced to introduce the interesting dissertation on the law of sir Edward Poynings. The two resolutions moved were,—first, "that a committee be appointed to examine the precedents and records this day produced, and such others as may be necessary to explain the law of Poynings."—Second, "to declare from the report of that committee, what the law of Poynings and the constitution of this kingdom actually were."

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* Irish parliamentary debates, 1781.

The provost had been selected to reply to this exposition of the law, in its perverted practice, not only from his acknowledged erudition, but that a pretext might be afforded the secretary for opposing Mr. Flood's propositions, and extend government protection to the moderate views of Mr. Yelverton. The provost confessed the high authorities produced by the mover, and expressed himself in these terms,—"If he had not been acquainted with them, he would have given credit to the researches of the right hon. gentleman who with such labour and industry had produced them to the house. He agreed to the first resolution, but opposed the second, *because* it led to a "declaration of rights," which should never be used, except in matters of the utmost necessity. He had heard every syllable of the right honorable gentleman's very learned "and eloquent oration, but he had heard no abuse the privy council had made of their power." The provost considered the three links of the adamantine chain which united the crowns of both nations, were,—"the law of sir Edward Poynings—the declaratory act —and, the power of appeal!"

Of this contumelious condition Mr. Yelverton only proposed a *modification*. Mr. Flood's view of the subject was more comprehensive,—"To restore the constitution to its original vigour, and obviate the evil effects of misrepresentation." His

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final amendment was conceived in these words,—"Whereas doubts have arisen on the construction of the law, commonly called 'Poynings,' and of the third and fourth of Philip and Mary, explanatory thereof,—be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said law of Poynings and the said law of Philip and Mary be and stand repealed, save only as follows:— * *"

His peroration contained all the chief points adverse to Mr. Yelverton's *modification*, and concluded with this pathetic address:—"And now, Mr. Speaker, if I have a feeling in the inmost pulse of my heart, it is that which tells me, that if, after twenty years' service, I should pass this question by neglectingly, I should be a base betrayer of my country. It is that which tells me that the whole earth does not contain a bribe sufficient to trifle with the liberties of this land. I do, therefore, wish to subscribe my name to what I now propose, to have them handed down together to posterity, that posterity may know there was, at least, one man who disapproved of the temporising bill now before the house—a bill that future parliaments, if they have power, will reform, if they have not, with tears will deplore.

The contest between Mr. Yelverton and Mr. Flood was sustained throughout every stage of this bill with unexampled ability and learning, marked by the most subtle discrimination of the law. Mr. Yelverton was distinguished for bland and captivating manners, and a commanding eloquence, which always pleased, and frequently succeeded. Perhaps of all his political associates, he approached nearest the character of Hyperides. His bill, too, was within the ministerial limit; and he exulted with conscious triumph, when he chided his rival with having "abandoned this child of his meditations and labours for seven years,"—however inwardly he must have felt, that *now* was the *only time* that offered for its realization. His great competitor burst forth with sentiments of indignant pride at the idea of a compromise, and exclaimed—"Nothing short of the restitution of the powers of the legislature, without the appearance of a fetter, would suffice." The annexed letter pictures distinctly his efforts, the style of his eloquence, the peroration, and the pathetic close to successive debates on the perversion of the law of Henry the seventh.

LETTER FROM MR. WEBB.

"I will trust lord Charlemont another time. You are now just what I wished you to be seven years ago; you

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have filled up the measure of my most sanguine hope. Is it a tempered energy, a manly self-possession; an articulation supported through every syllable; an action liberal, unmethodized, sometimes graceful, and always impressive. I will speak well of you where I can; where I cannot—be silent. That Close was exquisite: it was a perfect accord of voice, sentiment, and gesture. Is not this, that which Demosthenes understood by the word action? While I triumphed with you, I suffered for another—*omnium judicio capex imperandi si nunquam imperasset.* Mr. Pulteney has taught me to quote Tacitus, and you well know how to make it applicable. The secretary is not a man of abilities. The amendment was not a subject for a division at the opening of a session: the withdrawing it would have been popular and handsome; but he is in trammels, as poney, and will never do more than shuffle.

"Ever your's,

"D. WEBB.

"*Suffolk-street, Wednesday.*"

Another question of the utmost importance agitated the Irish senate at this epocha, the consideration of catholic disabilities. The following lucid statement is given by an authority of leading notoriety:—"And here it is necessary to remark, that this great man was a decided opponent of catholic emancipation. He was one of the first who drew a clear distinction between personal liberty and political power; and while he readily consented to repeal all such enactments as placed any restriction on the *former*,

he exercised a jealous guardianship over the *latter;* and maintained, that if ever the elective franchise was extended to the Roman catholics, there would be an end to the integrity of our protestant constitution."* On the 19th of February, 1782, a motion was made by Mr. Gardiner to empower Roman catholics to take, purchase, and enjoy estates, &c.; to which an amendment was added,—to have, hold, and inherit estates in fee simple, except avowsons, and lands to which a right of making seneschals is annexed, or any burgage or borough right, by which members might be returned to parliament." On this amendment Mr. Flood said,—That he always wished to embosom the Roman catholics in the body of the state; yet, without courting praise from one party or censure from another, he should, speaking neglectful of both, deliver his opinion on this great subject; and hoped it would be received with the same candour it was given.

"About five years ago, (1773), a law was passed, granting the Roman catholics infinitely less than is now proposed: the day was celebrated with rejoicing, and it was thought we had reconciled every party. I am sorry to hear gentlemen speak as if we had done nothing for

* University Magazine, July, 1836.

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them. The right honorable gentleman, Mr. Gardiner, who prepared the bill now before us, well knows I did object to that indiscriminite clause; one reason was, that while you were endeavouring to conciliate that estimable and beloved body of men, you seemed to hide your bounties, and to show only the severity of the laws. If a sorry popish agent had done this, he would have been unworthy the man for whom he acted, nor would it much surprise me; but a protestant parliament should be wise and frank to explain and declare the whole scope of their intention. In the former laws, leases for years were granted to them, upon the avowed principle of restraining them from any influence in elections. This law, then, goes beyond toleration; it gives them a *power*, and tends to make a change in the state. I have a great respect for the Roman catholics; and, though I will not condemn, yet I will not approve their conduct.

"The question ninety years ago was, whether popery and arbitrary power should be established in the person of king James, or freedom and the the protestant religion in the person of king William. Four fifths of the inhabitants of Ireland adhered to the cause of king James; they were defeated, and I rejoice in their defeat. The laws that followed this event were not laws of persecution, but of political necessity: and

are you now prepared for a new government? Can you possibly suppose that, though the Roman catholics prefer you to every other people, they will prefer you to themselves? What, then, is the consequence if you give them equal power with the protestants?—Can a protestant constitution survive? Yet should the majority of this nation attempt to alter the constitution, I firmly believe they would be repelled by the minority, and then a total convulsion must follow.

"It is necessary, when you are granting Roman catholics indulgence, that you should distinguish between the rights of property and the rights of power. While a man is engaged in acquiring property he is in a habit of industry, and when acquired it ties him to the state. But with great respect to my right honorable friend, I think the question of religious toleration should have been brought on first, because I am certain it would not have met with *a single dissenting voice*, and it would have been a glorious opportunity of showing the liberality of a protestant parliament: but though we wish to extend toleration to Roman catholics, we do not wish to shake the government. We should allow them to purchase lands, but we should carefully guard against their possessing

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any power in the state. Therefore, for the benefit of all, and that we may not destroy the balance of the state,—for I am sure no Roman catholic wishes to unhinge the state,—let us grant them full security in matters of property, but prevent their interference in matters of state. As to what has been said of the indulgences granted to protestants in other countries, I must observe, that nothing can be more mischievous than for one state or one individual to follow exactly the example of another. Difference of circumstances should produce different modes of action. The emperor of Germany is himself the sole legislator of the state,—he is himself a catholic,—nor do the protestants in his dominions bear a proportion of more than one in a hundred to his popish subjects. Besides, the protestants of every country acknowledge the SOVEREIGN as head of the Church, whereas catholics look to a foreign jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical."

These opinions lord Charlemont and several distinguished men participated. A critic of remarkable shrewdness* says, "Mr. Flood seems to have been one of the small number of politicians in whose mind the experience of the past excited some distrust of the future."

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* Author of "Strictures on Plowden."

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin, Jan. 1st,* 1782.

"My dearest Flood,

"You should have long since heard from me, but that I have been prevented by illness; and though I now sit down to write, it is merely because I must write to you, and not that I conveniently can: my stomach complaint is not much better, and consequently my nervous sufferings grow worse and worse, and particularly my eyes are so weak as to render them scarcely fit for use.

"The altered money bill, as I suppose you have heard, succeeded beyond expectation. In the committee, ministry attempted to smuggle through a bill, adopting one of the alterations out of three, but were defeated by the perseverance of a few, and by the want of sufficient numbers for a division; and afterwards in a fuller house they fairly gave up the point, and sent the bill back, word for word, as it was formerly sent, reserving to themselves the power of inserting the clause which had been added (and which all parties agree is not only usual, but useful, and was omitted by mistake) into some other bill. This seems to be a point gained, and I believe we owe our success, not only to the perseverance of our friends, but principally to the lord lieutenant's* thinking himself insulted by the alteration. *The house seems to me to be running mad on the subject of popery. Gardiner's bill, which, as castrated, may, for aught I know, be rendered innocent in its operation, is, however, in my opinion, extremely exceptionable in its mode; which, in direct opposition to what ought to be the first principle of all laws in favor of papists, seems calculated to irritate the protestants as much as possible, and to oblige the papists as little. No law of this kind ought certainly*

* The Duke of Portland.

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to be proposed without a moral certainty of its being carried almost unanimously; yet will this bill, I believe, be strongly opposed in the commons, and possibly rejected by the lords. For my own part, I have not yet made up my mind about it, as I have not seen it, and know its purport only by report: but I wish to heaven that gentlemen would, in this delicate point, let the country alone; suffer things to remain as they are, and not hazard the ruin of that growing coalescence, which, to my certain knowledge, was beginning to take place between men of all persuasions.

"Neither is it, as I am told, at all certain that even the exploded part of the law may not again be brought into question, and that some *wise* man may not move, by way of amendment, that which it would, in my opinion, be ruin to grant. Indeed, I begin to fear that the humorous account given by some wag of the present house of commons, may not only have humour but truth in it.

"Well, but my dearest Harry, I can write no more; my eyes begin to fail me, and I must conclude. My spirits are very low, and that circumstance may, perhaps, make me see matters in an unfavorable light: but I do not like the present progress of affairs. There is, to be sure, *one luminous spot, at which I love to gaze,* and which administers comfort under all my oppressions: you may guess what that spot is, when I assure you that I am,*

"My dearest, dear Flood,

"your faithful and more than affectionate friend,

"CHARLEMONT.

"Can you read this scrawl? I am sure I cannot write it over again. All our ladies send their compliments to you and to lady Frances: mine to her ladyship; and to her, and to you, the compliments of the season."

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* This letter does not bear out Mr. Hardy. Had their intimacy ceased?—Was the earl's admiration diminished?

Mr. Flood concluded his sentiments on this great question thus,—"I am as much a friend to the principle (toleration) as any gentleman in this house. I love and admire the Roman catholics; they ought to do likewise by the protestants; for I challenge the world to show a similar liberality to that which we now manifest: but an unbounded confidence is not to be placed in mankind. There should be a salutary caution—a constitutional jealousy—and though we talk as sentimentally as we please, yet we should not give without consideration. Gentlemen say, 'we should not clog or disgrace our gift,' but our constitution must be partial, and our policy must be partial too."

As this view of the subject has been considered replete with political wisdom and "statesmanlike sagacity worthy of admiration,"* it has been deemed a duty to embody it in this memoir. Mr. Fox's opinion, expressed at the same time, is given in these words, "The intestine divisions of that country, Ireland, are no more,—the religious prejudices of former ages are forgotten,—and the Roman catholics being restored to the rights of citizens, would become an accession of strength and wealth to the empire." "Alas!" says my authority, "how often are the most sanguine and the best founded expectations of mankind disappointed."†

* Dub. Univ. Mag. 1836. † Author of "Strictures on Plowden."

CHAP. VI.

1781 AND 1782.

Military force in lord Buckingham's government.—Cause of the organization of volunteer corps.—Their spirit and discipline.—Their political and military character closely united.—The delegates, country gentlemen, in and out of parliament.—Mr. Eden, his majorities in the commons, in lord Carlisle's short viceroyalty.—Mr. Grattan's remarkable speech.—Concessions of the British cabinet.—Lord Charlemont as plenipotentiary.—Duke of Portland sent over by the earl of Rockingham.—Mr. Grattan's address to the crown, or an enumeration of constitutional disabilities.—Four dissentient members, *two only* mark their dissent with their votes.—Distinguished abilities of Mr. Walshe.—His eloquence, learning, and patriotism.—The opinions of Burke, Fox, and Beauchamp, on the declaratory act.—First contest between Flood and Grattan on its adequacy to Irish independence.

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THE want of a sufficient regular military force, towards the close of the earl of Buckingham's viceroyalty, gave rise to the volunteer corps, who soon became animated with the noblest sentiments of patriotic devotion, as well as emulative of military *èclat*. This domestic force felt proud of the confidence reposed in them, to an unlimited degree, and the national vanity was gratified by the splendour of their costume, and the martial precision of their evolutions.

No more than three years had elapsed from their first organization, till they assumed a political character, by the delegation of a select body of their officers to convene at Dungannon,* to propound measures for the consideration of the national legislature. This meeting the delegates themselves designated as the effluence of a "corrupt representation." The overwhelming and well-organized majorities of Mr. Eden, who had opposed some of the most popular measures, seemed to countenance the epithet that was then applied to the parliament of Ireland.

The two preceding secretaries differed essentially in character and in consequence, from the present. Mr. Heron was considered as devoid of commanding talents, unskilful in bringing forward or withdrawing questions, and his supporters fluctuated, from a consciousness of his defects. Sir John Blaquiere, with more talent and activity, introduced, as government measures, many of an ameliorative tendency, and of a comprehensive description; yet, he never was certain of a cordial and powerful co-operation.

Therefore, these secretaries were dubious as to the strength of their partizans, and their parliamentary successes were neither complete nor important. It was reserved for Mr. Eden, a

* Belsham, vol. iv. Irish Parliamentary Debates.

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gentleman of superior abilities and considerable tact in the management of his retainers, to negative questions by large majorities that had been brought under consideration of the house of commons by its most popular members.

His pertinacity in opposing for two years all the measures for legislation, superinduced that incipient demonstration of a novel political power —"the Dungannon convention,"—which at once embodied a series of resolutions that apprised him how little he was aware that the majorities he directed did not represent the national will. Not till his recall was he aware of his delusion; and then he tried to mitigate the fault of his precipitancy in Ireland by a hasty motion in the British senate. *

The line of policy hitherto pursued,† with but few exceptions, called forth this extraneous effort of enthusiasm for national independence. The resolutions at Dungannon though considered within constitutional limits, yet the "address to the minority in parliament," was in a style too dictatorial and resolved to avoid the imputation that, without a Camillus, the meeting seemed, however, to adopt the sentiments of the Roman, in their most elevated interpretation,—"*Arma aptare, atque ferro, non auro patriam et*

* Hansard, 1782. † Belsham, vol. iv.

libertatem recuperare,"—thus verging the line of demarkation between the legitimate means of representing grievances, and the awful alternative of a social war. Confident in their power and popularity, the volunteers of Ulster extended their plans into three provinces, diffusing an emulous energy in the cause of national freedom, which they had reason to believe the majority in the commons were unwilling to advocate.

Lord North had early foreseen the probable issue of the enrolment and organization of a popular force, when the apprehension of an incursive war had passed away; he, therefore, discouraged the policy of lord Buckingham, of arming and equipping this tribunitian body, except temporary for the impending crisis. Though the premier had anticipated what took place three years subsequent, yet, during the government of that viceroy, no sentiment transpired but of a loyal and generous devotion to their country. The example of America, however, was too recent and too remarkable not to excite the fears of lord North, who perceived in the patriotic endeavours of Ireland's ablest and most disinterested statesmen and the sympathies of the people, a determined and powerful resistance to his policy. In lord Carlisle's government they increase in numbers and consequence; and in the duke of Portland's their

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spirit was indomitable and their determination declared—"TO BE FREE."*

In Ireland all institutions, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, have ever evinced a political bias: it, therefore, could not be expected that a national and domestic force could abstain from making their martial character accessary to the attainment of political rights with which they had been made familiar. Even had the simple and effectual plan of lord Shelbourne for England† been applied to organize an internal defensive body for Ireland, instead of the volunteers, it would have been equally instrumental in obtaining national independence, alike ancillary, however hypothetical the advantage.

Mr. Grattan collated the Dungannon resolutions with his motion, and "stated in a sentence the provocations of a century." As herald of that assembly, he offered, in portentous words, either peace or war.—"FROM INJURIES TO ARMS, FROM ARMS TO LIBERTY; LIBERTY WITH ENGLAND, IF ENGLAND IS SO DISPOSED; BUT AT ALL EVENTS LIBERTY." These words, uttered in an ardent and eloquent address, electrified a credulous and romantic people. From the circumstance of the earl of Rockingham becoming premier, lord Charlemont was invested with a diplomatic com-

* Gordon, vol. ii. and Belsham, hist. † Dodsley's An. Reg. for 1782.

mission to unite his party in support of the duke of Portland: he interested himself as a *chargè d'affaires* for the new ministry. Lord Rockingham writes,—"I should hope that an adjournment of the house of commons in Ireland, for a fortnight or three weeks, in order to give the duke of Portland an opportunity of inquiring into the opinions of your lordship and of the gentlemen of the first weight, will be readily assented to." Immediately the noble earl communicated with Mr. Flood, and the following short note abundantly indicates the earnestness with which he claimed and considered necessary, his assistance.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin*, 13*th April*, 1782.

"My dearest Flood,

"For heaven's sake come immediately to town; matters are in as good a train as possible, but we want your wisdom and advice. I have but a moment to write, and must therefore conclude my short note, as I shall conclude my life.

"Your most truly

"affectionate and faithful

"Charlemont."

He declined, however, this solicitation; probably he knew that Mr. Grattan had undertaken

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the enumeration of Irish grievances, each of which had been the subject of a separate motion and of his especial recommendation either at the council board or in parliament.

The new ministry were conscious that not a moment was to be lost in presenting to the Irish Cerberus a political confection which might avert his vigilance for a season, as the only means by which they could enter the cabinet with security and success. Accordingly Mr. Fox, (the Orpheus of our illustration,) wrote to the noble earl requesting his aid and that of his *protegé*, Mr. Grattan, in preparing a confect at once agreeable to the taste and sufficient to appease the appetite of the monster.

Mr. Grattan, therefore, was intrusted by lord Charlemont with the drawing up a summary of constitutional defects which was to be moved by him in the form of an address or petition to the throne. The marquess of Rockingham and Mr. Fox having taken the initiative in this measure, it assumed the gracious form of a concession, and was received as such by the majority in parliament, who expressed their gratitude in a language too adulatory not to excite the contempt of the high-minded of the British senate.

The honors that the Mitylenians paid to Pittacus scarcely surpassed those decreed by the Irish senate to Mr. Grattan for his short though

valuable service ;* but there are two points of dissimilarity between the sage of antiquity and the modern patriot. The extent which the cast of a javelin passed over was the moderate limit which Pittacus chose for long and arduous services, and his precepts of government and philosophy were worthy of being inscribed on the temple of Delphi ; but Mr. Grattan, who was personally anxious to imitate the Mitylenian, was rewarded munificently for his service ; and the elaborately wrought temple which contained his precepts, dissolved like the poet's† on the appearance of the day-god.

We shall narrate the parliamentary and constitutional history of this important renunciation on the part of England ; which, either in a retrospective or an eventual consideration, is one of the most interesting subjects in the page of our national transactions.

When Mr. Grattan had moved his address, sir Samuel Broadstreet, the recorder, rose to express his gratitude at the present event, and gave his concurrence in every point but one—"that all constitutional questions between both nations were at an end." Mr. Flood followed,‡ and thus expressed his opinion:—"A great reform

* Mr. Grattan was returned for Charlemont at the end of 1775, and in April, 1782, he made his famous motion.

† Mr. Pope's "Temple of Fame."

‡ Irish parliamentary debates, vol. iii. 1782.

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must ensue in consequence of what had been done. It was true, nothing appeared to him at present which could disturb the general harmony, but there were many English acts still existing, which operated in this kingdom, and notwithstanding the laudible acquiescence which appeared in the renunciation of English claims, who could engage that the present, or another, administration might not, at some future period, change their minds? He begged gentlemen to consider the language held out in the English house of commons.

"They asserted the right to *external* legislation, and the honorable member who seconded the motion on Irish affairs, *did not* give up that right, but as a matter of *convenience* and *compact.* Even the secretary, Mr. Fox, asserted this right to external, though he gave up that of internal, legislation. It may, therefore, be imagined in England, that you imply what they asserted,—'*that they had a right to bind you.*' He could not see the necessity of that paragraph—'that all constitutional questions between both nations were at an end.' At a moment freer from excitation than the present, he would recommend that no expressions should be used which afterwards could be laid hold of to their prejudice. He thought the paragraph dangerous, and begged to have it withdrawn."

Mr. Martin and Mr. Walshe were of a like opinion; the latter in a luminous speech, in which the following remarkable passage occurs—"He thought it a duty he owed to his constituents—he thought it a duty he owed to himself, as an Irishman, to state in the face of his country those objections which to him seem decisive against that part of the address."

Mr. Flood said he did not entertain a murmur of discontent, and declared to Mr. Grattan that he meant not, by any means, to oppose the address, but to deliver his opinion.

That power of the mind which we understand by prescience, distinguished this statesman above any of his contemporaries, at least in the Irish senate, and is singularly instanced on this very occasion. Amidst all this excitation attendant on the fancied reality of national independence, ushered in with the superlative eloquence of Mr. Grattan, that, like the glorious orb of day, gilds and beautifies all he touches, and, like him too, causes an illusive image which the fond expectation longs to reach, but, when arrived at, is but a *mirage*—a delusion! Amidst the acclamation of the populace, and the pompous applause of many an ignorant and venal senator, the ungracious and daring scepticism was uttered.*

* Parliamentary History.

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Four members were dissentient—Broadstreet, Walshe, Martin, and Flood. Two marked their opinions by their votes, the other two with their *voices* only. The calm and dignified sentiments of these men, unmoved by immediate causes, conveyed doubts of the perfectness of the "Address to the Throne" from the hour it was first announced in parliament. Let us see now if their sceptical views were justified by the history of this transaction.

"When the matter of establishing the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland was under the consideration of the late ministry (lord Rockingham's), *two ways of doing it had occurred.* The one, by a renunciation of what the country held to be *right*, but which it was ready to give up. This mode, however, it was foreseen, might give offence to the people of Ireland, who contended that England had never any such right. The other mode was,—by declaring that England, though she had exercised, had never been *legally* possessed of such a right; but to this mode of renunciation it was justly apprehended that the *parliament of Great Britain would not be brought to consent.*"*

The measure of a simple repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th of George I., was

* Dodsley's Register.

therefore moved by Mr. Fox, and *adopted* as *most consistent* with the *spirit* of the people *there*, (Ireland), and the *dignity of the government here*." This explanation is taken from the Annual Register, at a time when Mr. Burke was supposed to have written for it. Now, Mr. Burke's speech in the British parliament coincides with this, and shows with what reluctance even *he* relinquished internal, to say nothing of *external*, legislation. Mr. Burke said:—"So many and great revolutions have happened of late, that he was not surprised to hear the right honorable gentleman treat the loss of the *supremacy* of England over Ireland as a matter of very little consequence. Thus, one star, and that the brightest ornament of our orrery, having been suffered to be lost, those who were accustomed to inspect and watch our political heaven, ought not to wonder that it should be followed by the loss of another."—

> "So star would follow star, and light light,
> Till all was darkness and eternal night."

Mr. Fox's disinclination to concede the full extent of unfettered legislation, was as avowed as that of Mr. Burke. He expressed himself, when alluding to his reluctant concession of internal and external legislation, which "the Irish had imprudently insisted on having, and which he had himself given up in com-

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pliance with the strong prejudices of that nation, though with a reluctance that nothing but irresistible necessity could have overcome." Such was the confession of that eminent orator; and it is but justice to an Irishman whom Fortune did not so graciously smile on, but who was not inferior to him in qualities of the mind, or in attainments which give strength and efficacy to it, to state, that Mr. Walshe penetrated the hidden motives and springs of the British cabinet. Mr. Walshe said:—"These expressions in the address he thought too strong; because, in his opinion, they preclude any *future address*, if it should be found that any matter had been stated in the former address that required amendment or regulation.

"With respect to the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. he relied on it as a lawyer that it was *inadequate* to the emancipation of Ireland. The 6th of Geo. I. is merely a declaratory law,—that law declares that England has a power to make laws to bind Ireland; what then does its repeal do with respect to Ireland? simply this, and not a jot more, it *expunges the declaration of the power* from the English statute book, but it does not deny the power *hereafter* to make laws to bind Ireland, whenever England shall think herself in sufficient force for that purpose.

"How pregnant this doctrine of Mr. Fox's is with every mischief—nay, with absolute destruction to this country! The parliament of Ireland may make laws for their *internal* legislation; that is, he gives us leave to tax ourselves—he permits us to take money out of our purses for the convenience of England, but as to external legislation, there Great Britain presides: in any thing that relates to commerce, to exportation, there Great Britain can make laws to bind Ireland.

"The fair construction of the matter is this:—Ireland, you shall not enjoy your natural and constitutional rights—that of making the most of the produce of your land; you shall not send your goods to the best and most profitable markets. No, said Mr. Fox, that may hereafter interfere with the interests of England—that may hurt the pride of the British legislature. So that by this doctrine, England may shut or open our ports at pleasure. See then the absurdity of our situation! Ireland is said to have a 'free trade,' but the *key* of it is in Mr. Fox's pocket."*

The preceding observations on the "address to the throne," demonstrate that it was considered imperfect by four of the most able and learned men in the Irish commons, and that two

* Parliamentary history, 1782.

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members, at least, of the English cabinet were adverse to the legislative independence of Ireland. But a very short interval elapsed when Mr. Flood's judgment was found to rest on more sure basis than men of shallower understandings contemplated.

The new secretary, Mr. Grenville, in consequence of a decision of lord Mansfield, made a motion for leave to bring in a bill "for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen or might arise concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation or judicature, and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in that kingdom, from being received, heard and adjudged, in any of his majesty's courts of Great Britain."* In the same important debate, Mr. Eden, whose acquaintance with the affairs and statesmen of Ireland gave a high degree of value to his opinion, said, "A *doubt* originated by the learned lord, with whom he had lived twenty years in habits of friendship, forcibly stated in Ireland by the legal precision of Mr. Walshe, supported by the admirable and unwearied abilities of Mr. Flood, and countenanced by the manly firmness and eminent integrity of the recorder of Dublin, was certainly not to be treated otherwise than with

* Hansard's debates.

respect." But of all who addressed themselves to this subject, lord Beauchamp was the most perspicuous in language, irrefragible in argument, and historically correct in narrative. His lordship spoke on this occasion in these words.—" That there were many jealousies in Ireland was not to be doubted, that there were grounds for these jealousies was an incontrovertible position the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Eden) who spoke last made evident. He had said, ' that the writ of error from Ireland returnable into the king's bench of England was coeval with the constitution of Ireland.' It was impossible therefore, that the mere repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. could take this writ away. Now, if it did not take it away, with what truth in argument could the right honorable gentleman say, that this country had completely surrendered *every legislative* and *every judicial* jurisdiction over Ireland. But the right honorable member would say, ' it was only the appellant jurisdiction of the house of lords that the Irish complained.' Then, to what did a writ of error brought into the king's bench ultimately tend? why, to establish that very appellant jurisdiction of the British house of lords, of which the Irish had complained; for no man could doubt but the party, who, in the appeal to the king's bench

* Hansard's debates, 1782.

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should think himself aggrieved, nay, by law *entitled* to take out a writ of error returnable to parliament, and thus the English lords would come once more into possession of that very judicial jurisdiction, the right honorable gentleman would have the Irish erroneously believe had been fully surrendered up to them.

"Though it was erroneously said, that the right of England over Ireland in matters of legislation had been surrendered, scarcely three weeks had passed when the *English parliament legislated for Ireland*, by passing an act prohibiting the exportation of blocks used in calico printing, in which act Ireland was expressly named,* notwithstanding the very recent repeal of the 6th of Geo. I.

"Had not the Irish just cause for alarm at this *breach of faith* with them? But was this the only instance of attempting to legislate for Ireland? No: for that kingdom was expressly named in the act which opened the British ports for the importation of sugars, &c. the produce of St. Kitts, and other late British islands in the West Indies. Surely an attempt to open the ports of a kingdom was one of the highest acts of sovereign power." Mr. Pitt acquiesed in this motion of Mr. Grenville, and it was carried.

* Hansard's debates.

The concession of so much power by the British nation was, in fact, matter of the gravest reflection for those who were capable of comprehending the extent of such a relinquishment;—judicial and legislative jurisdiction, internal and external legislation. The latter would, in a degree, have altered the course of the marine commerce of Great Britain. Hence, we perceive lord Abington directed the force of his abilities against the concession. He made a motion to that effect, and laid his claim to the future assumption of *right*, and laid his protest before the lords against the claims of Ireland, whilst the delegates of the volunteers were on the spot in their ambassadorial capacity.

Consequential from this motion and protest, Mr. Flood said in the Irish parliament,—"I will not speak at large to a question which I have already so fully explained, unless some opposition shall be made. I will only premise one idea. It has been granted that Ireland ought to obtain the best possible security for her liberties, and it was manifest that legal security was the best, as was proved in the case of the union between England and Scotland. Now, though I do not think such a union would be desirable, *the circumstances of the two countries being so different*, yet I think such sort of security as that which England gave to Scotland at the union, would be advantageous to Ireland. The union of England

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and Scotland was the union of both crowns and both legislatures. The crowns of both nations are already united by a strong bond; for by a law of our parliament it is declared,—'that whosoever wears the imperial crown of England shall also wear the crown of Ireland.' The consent of that personage under the great seal of England, and consequently with the knowledge of all the great officers of England, must always be had to the acts of the Irish houses of legislature *before* they can become laws. This bond of union I would never wish to impair, but I should like to see parliament as well secured in its rights as the crown. Therefore, 'I move for leave to bring in heads of a bill for the purpose of affirming the sole and exclusive right of the parliament of Ireland for to make laws for this country, internal and external.'" The right honorable Denis Browne, in an able speech, seconded the motion. Mr. Walshe followed, and his words deserve the more attention from his unspotted integrity as a patriot, and the eloquence with which he embellished the most difficult forensic matters. "The question under debate," said he, "I am confident is one of the greatest magnitude that ever came before the commons of Ireland. This day may for ever decide the fate of this country; I shall therefore hope that on this great constitutional question, on which the

very existence of Ireland depends,—I say, I hope *reason* and sound judgment, *not numbers*, may govern the decision of this assembly. If my right honorable friend fail this day in asserting the rights of his country, he will, at least, have this satisfaction,—that of proving himself a faithful servant of the nation." Mr. Flood was, however, left in a minority of thirteen.

It is probable that Mr. Grattan himself began to feel the force and cogency of the arguments urged, and demonstrated by events; for he was induced to move a resolution which was unworthy the "magnanimous champion," as he has been styled by his admirers. The resolution was,—"That the legislature of Ireland was independent, and that *any person* who should propagate in writing or otherwise an opinion that any right whatsoever, whether *external* or internal, existed in any other parliament, or could be revived, was *inimical to both* kingdoms."* The unjustifiable personality of this resolution, its arbitrary inconsistency with the subject-matter of debate, betrayed a want of wisdom, though much of prejudice, in the mover. Mr. Flood instantly observed, "he never would agree to a resolution to put the nation under a worse than Russian government. Shall this house,—shall the house

* Parliamentary debates, 1782; and Barrington's Historic Memoirs.

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of peers—shall every man in the land be prohibited from speaking, be prohibited from writing, because a particular set of men shall hear the truth?—That they have not done adequate justice to Ireland. Are they so very sensitive to hear their actions and opinions canvassed? Did the honorable gentleman intend to pull down the liberty of the press and deface the constitution?"

Mr. Grattan then altered his resolution, upon which Mr. Flood sarcastically falicitated him*—"I am glad to see it introduced in place of the first proposed by the honorable gentleman, I am happy to find men's mouths are not to be closed, or their pens prevented from asserting the rights of Ireland; that the child of the mind might still be delivered, and the offspring of the imagination was not to be abortive. I rejoice to find that my opposition has given the honorable member an opportunity of changing his resolution, as his former one would not receive too sudden or too severe a rebuke which tended to prevent investigation and for ever sink the constitution."

To follow these great men in the display of their transcendant powers, would be to forget the limits prescribed in biographical writing; from the halcyon days of Mr. Grattan's address, till the time when Mr. Flood finally obtained a renun-

* Parliamentary debates, and Barrington's historic memoirs.

ciation on the part of England it was a continuous argumentative combat, in which the inexhaustible munition of their intellects was lavished at each successive position.

The former, as it were, stood arrayed in a highly burnished mail and glittering arms, holding a charter of liberty for his country in his hand, too confident in his recent success to require its ratification. The latter, panoplied in the old rusty armour of the constitution, demanded that *its forms* should be observed, the parchment of your "rights" being worthless without a legislative renunciation and the royal signet.

This most interesting and all-important debate, (at the time), closes with this fine peroration, which for a noble assemblage of ideas and exalted sentiments is not easily rivalled :—

"Were the voice with which I utter this, the last effort of my expiring nature,—were the accent which conveys it to you the breath that was to waft me to that grave to which we all tend, and to which my footsteps rapidly accelerate—I would go on; I would make my exit by a loud demand of your rights. I call upon the God of truth and freedom, who has often favored you, and who has of late looked down upon you with

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* Hampden.

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such a peculiar grace and glory of protection,—to continue to you his inspirings,—to crown you with the spirit of his completion,—to assist you against the errors of those that are honest as well as the machinations of those that are not."

CHAPTER VII.

1782 AND 1783.

A difference of opinion between lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood on the adequacy of the "simple repeal."—Letter from the noble earl.—Attempt to form fencible corps to supersede the volunteers.—Intended motion of Mr. Flood in return for an act of renunciation.—Mr. Serjeant Coppinger, an old and valuable servant, disseized of his office—Mr. Martin's memorable motion on the subject.—His able speech tracing the characters of Coppinger, Ponsonby, and Flood.—Notice of Mr. Martin.—Prejudices of Irish writers.

THE political differences which had arisen from recent discussions threw a shade over the friendship that had so long subsisted between lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood. This was the first and only instance of any serious alienation of regard, or severence in their politics. The mediatorial character the noble earl thought it right to assume from the moment the marquess of Rockingham had confided to him the intentions of his cabinet, made him feel with peculiar tenaciousness any opinion or sentiment, that might lead to disruption of the connective chain which united the nominal independence of the

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kingdom of Ireland with the party whom he considered its benefactors in England.

In all his views there was a spirit of chivalric inconsequence which might easily be traced; but to confine the observation to acts of the legislature, he maintained the adequacy of a repeal of a declaratory law for all subjects of national legislation, and he was offended by the suggestion of doubts; again, we find him indignant at the idea of "commercial propositions" from England, yet, he had resigned external legislation when he accepted the "simple repeal;"—again, on the "regency question" he hastened to bear the resolutions of the Irish commons which were in contradistinction to those of the British: and lastly, he established a whig club at Belfast, which soon descended from the lofty sentiments of that party to a reunion which spawned many of the rebellious subjects of 1798. Hence, though he had neither the sagacity, nor the clear comprehensive view, nor the thorny knowledge which form the great statesman, yet, he will always be admired for benevolence, adherence to his party, and devotion to his fatherland.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin, 28th June,* 1782.

"My dear Flood,

"My journey to the south, after having gone through all my northern business, will be so precipitate, that it will, I fear, be absolutely out of my power to comply with my own inclination in acccepting your very kind invitation. In short, I have so much to do, and so little time to do it in, that I must attend to business only, without any thought of pleasure. Foreign news I know of none; and respecting domestic intelligence, you are, I suppose, already informed that the Dungannon meeting have unanimously entered into what I think very proper resolutions, declaratory of their satisfaction. Some there are still discontented, and I am sorry for it; but how could it be otherwise, when they have the sanction and impression of your opinion—of your eloquence? O, my dear Flood, what are you about? You never have taken a part so disagreeable to my feelings, because you never, *till now*, have done any thing which I could not some how justify to myself, and consequently to others. The cry is against you; I do not join in it: friendship forbids me. But, alas! why must I be silent? why cannot I defend you, as hitherto I have ever done?

"I did not mean to have mentioned this matter, but in writing to you, I am so used to speak my thoughts, that I could not avoid it. I desire, however, no answer to this part of my letter, as I do not wish to enter into a controversy with you upon a subject on which, after the fullest deliberation, I am clearly decided.

"All our affectionate compliments to lady Frances, and believe me, in spite of the essential difference in our present opinion,

"Ever your's,

"Charlemont."

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The new ministry attempted to form at this period fencible regiments in Ireland, so as to supersede the necessity of the continuance of the volunteers in arms, who were now looked on with as much suspicion as the pretorian legions of Rome; and, in fact, though there was nothing sinister or subversive in their contemplations, it cannot be denied, they demanded rather than petitioned for their rights. The duke of Portland attempted, too late, the introduction of what might have been a good substitute for a militia, and a more amenable force than the volunteers. But what might have been salutary at first, now occasioned jealousy and apprehension.

Mr. Flood, therefore, was altogether opposed to the raising of fencible corps, as a misapplication of the funds voted by the house of commons for a more noble purpose,* and useless and unpopular as a military body. The retainers of government and the personal friends of the duke acquiesced in the plan.

The project Mr. Flood contemplated in the event of the concessions to Ireland being as complete as he considered necessary for the national welfare, is accurately given in the following paragraph found in a letter from the duke of Chandos:—

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* To raise sailors for the British navy.

"I have heard from good authority, that if the English ministry would consent to the darling measure of the volunteers,—an Irish bill of rights,—a proposition would be made in the Irish parliament of the greatest advantage to England. The proposition is, that the commons of Ireland should vote four ships of an hundred guns each, to be called after the four provinces of this kingdom, to be presented to the king and parliament of Great Britain, as an earnest of what Ireland would do for her sister kingdom when, by a free trade, her means shall have been increased. I understand that Mr. Flood is the person who intends to make this motion, and that he will meet with support from all parts of the house. I wish that persons in power may not stand in the way of so noble a grant."

The lofty patriotism of such a design reflects no small degree of honor on the projector, when the critical situation of the British navy, which had to sustain an unequal conflict with the combined fleets of France and Spain, is taken into consideration.

There was nothing unreasonable in the concessions required. Mr. Fox had said in parliament that "the measure of 'simple repeal' could not stand alone, but must be accompanied by a final adjustment, on solid basis, of perma-

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nent connexion between the two kingdoms;" and lord Rockingham had expressed himself similarly.

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF CHANDOS.

"*Minchenden-house, 22d April,* 1783.

"DEAR SIR,

"My letters are so frequent, I fear you will necessarily look upon them as persecutions; but I had engaged in my last to give you some information relative to the progress of the Irish legislature bill through our house. It was moved to be read a second time yesterday se'nnight; there was no debate on the merits of the bill, but all parties being pretty full of matter, a long desultory conversation took place, and great part of it had as much to do with the bill, or Ireland, as it had to do with Pekin or Canton. Upon the whole, I thought the duke of Portland did not seem much pleased with the bill, and in my opinion lost a very favorable opportunity of paying some proper compliments to Ireland, and totally declined any explanation of his Irish system, or even informing us whether he had any. In the course of the ideas I submitted to the house, I could not refrain from acquainting them with the very violent proceedings of lord North towards you, in advising the king to strike your name off the council books of both countries, unheard, without notice, and without giving any reason: I threw out, that it was not improbable but, after the recess, I might move the house to take that business into serious consideration. However, before I determine upon that point absolutely, I must know whether I have your permission so to do; if I have, you will be pleased to send me any particular information

you may think of use. After the house was up, lord Carlisle told me that it was at his instance that you were removed from the council, and that, on his informing you of it, you said that he had done very right. In my idea, this makes no difference; for a measure of the lord lieutenant's, adopted by the minister, becomes his own, and he must be responsible for it.

"I wish to hear from you on this subject as soon as possible. The lord lieutenancy of Ireland at present goes a begging: the duke of Devonshire, lord Fitzwilliam, and lord Derby have refused; lord Northington is the person at present talked of. Both houses are at present adjourned for the holidays.

"The duchess joins me in sincere good wishes to yourself and lady Frances.

"I am, dear sir,

"your very faithful and obedient humble servant,

"CHANDOS."

MR. MARTIN'S DEFENCE OF COPPINGER.

A very affecting incident occurred at this time, and, from its extraordinary unjustness, was the subject of a motion in parliament and a petition to the duke of Portland, viceroy, in behalf of Mr. Coppinger, who had been tortuously deprived of his office to make room for Mr. George Ponsonby. Mr. Martin, the mover, represents this unjust proceeding in an oration that would not be unworthy of the genius of Tully; he closed his motion by a reference to the conduct of Mr. Ponsonby towards Mr. Flood,

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to which allusion has been made before, and presents a striking portrait of the latter. Coming from a person of so much weight and consequence in the Irish parliament, conveyed in language highly oratorical, it cannot be misplaced or inapplicable here. To Mr. George Ponsonby he said,—

"Let me council him, let me say to him, tear from you, as you would the poisoned shirt, the ill-fated gift of Dejanira—the office your character is now encumbered with; tear from you that office before you warm in it—tear it from you before its infamy commixes with your blood and tarnishes your honor. I, now, sir, call on the old gentleman, father to the gentleman to whom I have been addressing myself—I say to you, go to the castle—you have often gone there for worse purposes—I say worse purposes, because you never could go on so good a purpose: say to his grace, without the servility of a courtier—'Sir, you meant to serve me and my family; you have injured me, and you have disgraced your government: my son has abilities, and he wishes to rise on the broad basis of his own merit, and if he cannot thus rise, I desire to see him low for ever. Take back this gift, and give it to the proper owner.' I desire the old gentleman to go while it is possible he can get admission to the castle; for when the enormity of this foul deed has got to the ear of the public—I appeal to the bar, I appeal to the gallery, I appeal to the soft breast of beauty that adorns that box (formerly consigned to court sycophants)—if you do not now go, the serjeant of the battle-axe guard will not open the door for you, the aid-de-camp in waiting will not present you, for both will suppose that your return is the signal of your dismissal. If you do not go, I pledge myself that I will, though my horse's feet have not torn up the smooth pavement of the castle yard—though I have

not unnapped the carpet of the presence-chamber with my frequent visits, nor dinned in the viceregal ear servile flattery. I will exhort the representative of majesty, as the ambassador of the unhappy man, to redress him; and if he does not redress him here, I will find the way to the palace of St. James; I will get myself presented to the royal sovereign, and deplore the injustice the best chief governor, with the best intentions, has done, by an act that would dishonor Verres—that would disgrace the regions of Constantinople. I will tell this, because in his royal breast to know and to redress a grievance are one."

After this pathetic appeal to the feelings of his audience on Mr. Coppinger's destitute situation, after thirty years' arduous service, and now supplanted by Mr. George Ponsonby; the orator turns to contrast this act with the public character of Mr. Flood.

"I have now told you what Mr. Coppinger has done; let me now inform you what he has not done (alluding to Mr. George Ponsonby). He never, sir, at an early or at a late period in life, stood forth the avowed advocate of corruption; he never said within these walls, to the greatest character that ever adorned this country—a character not to be profaned by the tongues of impious men, whose name will die only when our constitution expires, whose transcendant abilities will be handed down to posterity, while the history of this island shall be read, her laws and her constitution survive—who is the present adoration of this nation, and whose death will be lamented as the bitterest calamity with which angry heaven visited this land—whose transcendant merit is such, that it keeps the merit of every other man at an awful and respectful distance—whose abilities are of such a god-like nature, that I

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protest, if ever I shall stand forward the advocate of the present æra, I shall do it by telling my son, if God should bless me with one, that the period in which I acted was preferable to that in which he might hope for. I say preferable, because I lived in the same æra, and had the honor to be born in the same country with that great man."

The orator continues the contrast between Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Flood. The portraiture may be overcharged,—the glowing colours may be unsuited to the present taste or the present conception of the man; but they are the deliberate sentiments of Mr. Martin, a gentleman of rank, property, and learning, who was impelled by the most honorable motives to expose the corrupt traffic of an office, whereby an honest, tried, and humble servant of the crown was reduced to penury, merely to give place to an individual of strong parliamentary connexion.*

We have now brought the biography of Mr. Flood to the close of this year; and, in reference to his political conduct, the parliamentary debates, as published, have been diligently considered: for, in a country so uncongenial to impartial representation, where the page of history is often stained with the gall of party

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* The author of the "Principal Characters."

bitterness, it is difficult to arrive at a just appreciation of men and measures. We had to trace back to the pure sources of truth, or its nearest resemblance, and drink of those waters before they commingled with tributary streams, which, though they add volume and force, generally destroy their purity and flavour.

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1783.

Arrival of the earl of Northington.—Overtures made to Mr. Flood through the archbishop of York, at the instance of the earl of Northington.—Mr. Edmond Malone addresses a semi-official letter to Mr. Flood.—Reasons why Mr. Flood declined such invitations.—Parliamentary reform in Ireland, and a reduction of the military establishment.—Early character of Mr. Parsons.—Lord Charlemont's letter to the delegates of the volunteers.—Crisis in the opinions of Irishmen.—Motion for retrenchment in the military departments made by sir Henry Cavendish, seconded by Mr. Flood.—Opinions of Mr. George Ponsonby and Mr. Grattan, on the same subject.—Cause of the dispute between Flood and Grattan—Their speeches.—These patriots compared.—Letters from the duke of Chandos.

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PREVIOUS to the arrival of the earl of Northington, almost on the formation of the coalition ministry, an overture was indirectly made to Mr. Flood to join the government, which he declined, though advantageous to his personal aggrandizement. Indeed, a considerable part of the British nation averted their eyes from a union which militated against political integrity, and a cabinet, whose members did not entertain coincident principles, could not promise a long duration, but must divaricate, with diminished public confidence, and

personal lustre. His political sagacity, as well as his principles, prevented his taking office, however plausibly the present instance might have suggested the reflection, that the attachments and aversions of statesmen are often guided by their interests or convenience.

One of the letters which elucidates Mr. Flood's situation and conduct, at this period, is from Mr. Edmond Malone, a friend of his, who was connected with the administration. In one part of this communication he says,—"I am well, though not officially, informed that the new government is thoroughly impressed with the sense of your importance," and hints to place in these terms,—"I have good ground for believing that the office of chancellor of the exchequer may be vacated, and if any office is an object to you, I take it for granted that must be one."—These expressions of Mr. Malone are concurrent in time and tendency with a letter from the archbishop of York, Dr. Markham, to his former pupil. His grace writes at the instance of lord Northington—"who wishes for nothing so much as the assistance of your abilities; and it should depend on *yourself* what share of the public business you might choose to engage in."

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LETTER FROM MR. MALONE.

"DEAR FLOOD,

"You will probably, before you receive this letter, have heard that lord Northington is appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Wyndham, of Norfolk, (not lord Egremont's brother,) a gentleman of good fortune, his principal secretary.

"This new appointment is the occasion of my taking up the pen at present, for the purpose of asking you whether you mean to come to England shortly, or have any wish or intention to form any part in the new administration in the next session in Ireland. I trouble you with these inquiries not from idle curiosity, but because I am *well*, though not *officially*, informed that the new government is thoroughly impressed with the sense of your importance; and, of course, I should think, would wish to make an arrangement that should be the means of obtaining your friendship and assistance.

"I shall not enlarge farther on this business till I hear from you what your intentions or wishes are. Among other things that I have reason to think are attainable, I have good grounds for believing that the office of chancellor of the exchequer may be vacated; and if any office is an object to you, I take it for granted that must be one.

"It is so long since I have seen you, that I am entirely ignorant whether such an office, or any other, is at present an object of your wishes; and I am also aware, that you may have particular reasons for not choosing to disclose your intentions to any one. I request, therefore, you will be so good as to communicate or withhold your thoughts from me on this subject as you please. If you think fit to employ me, I think it may be in my power to put things in such a train as

will be agreeable to you; and you well know that there are many occasions in which a middle-man is a useful one.

"You will, I am sure, readily believe that I have no other object or interest in this business, but doing you, and the public at the same time, a service. I must, however, once more repeat, that what I write is neither at the desire, nor even with the knowledge, of any person concerned in government; but is merely in consequence of my putting together a number of things that have lately fallen within my private observation, and in which, I think, I can't be mistaken. Mr. Wyndham, the new secretary, is an acquaintance of mine, but I have not seen him since his new appointment. He is a man of strict honor, and does not go to Ireland with any view to emolument, it being with great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to accept of his present employment.

"I am doubtful where you are at present, but will direct to Dublin. I wish either business or inclination led you a little more to this part of the world, being, my dear Flood, with perfect truth,

"Your sincerely affectionate,

"Edmond Malone."

"*London, April* 24, 1783,
Queen Anne-street, East."

LETTER FROM W. MARKHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

"*Bloomsbury-square, May* 3, 1783.

"My Dear Sir,

"My friend, lord Northington, has undertaken the government of Ireland; and, knowing as I do the rectitude of his mind, and his many respectable qualities, I have anxious wishes for the success of his administration. I had a conversation with him this morning. Your importance was too conspicuous to escape making a part of it. I told him that I

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thought myself justified, by long experience of your character, in assuring him, that though you had expressed quick resentments of what you thought ill treatment, yet no man had a clearer or purer sense of a fair and honorable conduct. That it was impossible you should have any views contrary to the public interest; and that, while the measures of government were honestly directed, I did not believe you would seek an interest in opposing them; and that as no man possessed the means of doing so essential services to government, I wished him, if possible, to look to your support. I went so far as to tell him, that if he thought my long friendship with you might be made useful in facilitating the approaches to a friendly intercourse, he might use my services.

"He expressed himself much obliged to me, said he knew your value, and esteemed your character, and wished for nothing so much as to have the assistance of your abilities: that it should depend upon yourself what share in the public business you might choose to engage in: that you should be as confidential to him as you pleased, and should never have reason to complain of his conduct.

"I was led by the esteem and affection which I have always had for him, and my unremitted wish to make myself useful to you, to make that offer to him, persuaded that it will be an act of kindness, essential to the honor and interest of both, and I heartily pray it may be with effect.

"I wish you to send me an answer which I may communicate to him. Our kindest compliments to lady Frances.

"I am, dear sir,

"Your most faithful servant,

"W. Ebor."

However amiable and conciliatory this interposition of Dr. Markham must have appeared to

Mr. Flood, recommended by a long course of friendship and disinterested benevolence, yet he was obliged to oppose, in some degree, the government of lord Northington. Such is often the contrariety of politics, that when they do not sever, they disregard the claims of amity.

The two points of opposition Mr. Flood felt it consistent to give—but which did not prevent his attending court,—were on a financial retrenchment, and a parliamentary reform. The transitory but diligent administration of earl Temple, with whom Mr. Flood enjoyed a confidential intercourse, pointed to where economy might be practised in the one, and rendered manifest the impurity of the other." *

In these views many of the younger members of the house, and some of the more experienced, concurred. This minority amounted to about forty, who were uninfluenced by the secretary. Among the former was Mr. George Molyneux and Mr. Laurence Parsons; among the latter, were sir Henry Cavendish, sir Edward Newenham, Right Honorable Denis Browne, Mr. Coote, and Mr. Jephson, whose exertions in the national welfare were considerable. Mr. Parsons† claims

* Gordon Hist. vol. ii.

† His Defence of Ireland, to which is prefixed an account of Mr. Flood's views and opinions on the literature and antiquity of Ireland.

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a pre-eminent place in this biography, as he exerted in more mature years, his abilities and acquirements to diffuse a knowledge of the great literary objects that were contemplated by his venerated friend, and to protect his posthumous fame. The character of the youthful politician is thus described:—"Educated in the university of Dublin, he early distinguished himself by regularity of conduct, a sedulous attention to literary pursuits, and a winning affability of deportment that conciliated the affections of all. Thus qualified, the university elected him, when yet young in years, as one of its representatives, and his abilities fully justified the propriety of its choice. In oratory his language is simple and flowing, though seldom figurative, is ever correct—his reasoning is close and argumentative; his matter always good, not skimmed from the surface, but drawn from the depths of his subject—not the frippery and tinsel of a superficial declaimer, but the sterling one of a well informed speaker.

"On all public questions Mr. Parsons has uniformly acted with integrity, honor, and patriotic virtue; hence he has secured (which next to the approbation of his own mind is most valuable,) the applause of genius, of learning, and of virtue."*

* The author of the "Principal Characters."

Such was the promising commencement of a gentleman whose mature years have been honored by literary fame, in addition to his academic reputation and patriotic services.

The period of the earl of Northington's vice-royalty forms a crisis in the political and moral condition of Ireland. What had been conceded by the British legislatures in the earlier part of the year preceding did not suffice for the rising spirit of the Irish nation; and on reflection, we ought to be the less surprised when we recollect the axiom—"that nothing can repress the general will of a nation to be free." Grateful and sensible the majority were, yet as long as the grave imperfections of the representative body were permitted to exist, the free-will offering of Great Britain was, as unproductive as the talent that the unwise servant placed in a napkin. At this period it was computed that no more than *sixty* members of the Irish parliament were independent, or beyond the influence of the crown! The earl of Charlemont, a conspicuous individual from the accidents of his rank and the ascendancy of his party, strove to keep the nation within the trammels which would give power and efficacy to his political connections, forgetful that Machievelli* had written, "that it is hopeless to reduce

* Il Principe.

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to slavery (or to a particular party) a nation embued with the spirit of freedom," and the bold spirits that entertained the thought, were not likely to mind the delicately defined boundaries which he would feign impose. His mind, indeed, was more at ease in translating the euphonous language of the laureat Petrarcha, or writing eulogies on the character of sir Phillip Sidney, than in devising means to avert or guide the political storm that he might have perceived, lowered on the horizon. The delegates of the volunteers had sent him a programme of their intentions, and the earl, as their general and mentor, wrote from Lurgan his rescript—to meditate on " reform alone."

In his early correspondence with Mr. Flood, he was wont to compare him to Hampden, from the energetic boldness of his nature, and other peculiarities of his life, traits of character, and habits of study, which might seem to bear out a resemblance ;* and such a character was adapted to the present state affairs of Ireland. His energies, then, were called forth to direct this new development of political power, which the nation evinced, by convening an association of some of her wealthiest, most intelligent, and most disinterested members.

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* Clarendon and Godwin.

To what did his exertions tend? To obtain an independent parliament, as the constitutional means of correcting other abuses. The convention, which was shortly to assemble in the capital, probably did not exceed in number one hundred and sixty delegates, who professed moderate doctrines of civil liberty, and whose practical wisdom was not inferior to their disinterested patriotism: there was, indeed, an extraneous spirit, not guided by such honorable motives. The great mass of the volunteer army, from north to south, from east to west, were armed spectators, and might well awaken a timorous spirit in some, and point the declamation of others. For such a struggle,—for working the principle involved in the concessions of 1782, in its most enlarged consequences, we can perceive in the character of Mr. Flood some of those faculties, and that intrepidity of soul, which induced the earl of Charlemont to compare him to the immortal patriot of the seventeenth century.

His stake, too, was considerable, in fortune, in reputation, and in connexions who would take umbrage at the extinction of family boroughs. He was, as it were, thrust from the constitutional ground of political warfare, on which he would willingly have taken issue, to a site where the national feelings were more truly represented. Such is the portraiture of him at this contentious

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and perilous time of Irish history; and we shall presently have to follow him to a scene where he conducted the national impulse to a peaceful, though not triumphant, issue.

The summer of this year, Mr. Flood went to England, in the course of which he made a visit to Avington, the seat of the duke of Chandos, where he probably concluded his negotiation with his grace for the representation of Winchester, which borough he canvassed in September, and then returned to Ireland, preparatory to the opening of the session. He caught a severe cold in his passage over, and an attack of gout added much to retard his accustomed activity. Nevertheless, he resumed his parliamentary duties, which commenced in October, 1783. After the usual preliminaries, a motion of considerable financial importance was moved by sir Henry Cavendish, on the 28th of the same month, the scope of which was to make a "retrenchment in the military establishment of Ireland." Nothing was more necessary than a diminution of the national expenses, and none seemed to afford a curtailment so advantageously as this department of the state; particularly, as peace was established, and a militia or the volunteers were equally adequate, under wise and judicious direction, to the exigencies of Ireland at the time. This question was introduced by

sir Henry Cavendish without a word of personality or offensive allusion to any member of the house; however, Mr. Geo. Ponsonby replied to the baronet,* in terms too exciting not to give a tone to the debate, which brought forth the celebrated invective of Mr. Grattan, the probable cause of which we shall briefly narrate.—A good understanding and a co-operation on many political transactions, continued between Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood, till the difference on the "simple repeal;" he ultimate triumph of the latter gave a deeper tinge to the umbrage occasioned by their first contentions. "The reasonings of Mr. Flood rapidly propagated themselves through the country. The most eminent authorities assented to the correctness of his positions. The volunteers caught the alarm,—he was addressed by one body after another, until all Ireland seemed to be converted to his opinion, and 'simple repeal' was scouted as utterly inadequate and delusive." Mr. Flood, in his reply to the addresses from the Connaught volunteers, used some words at which Mr. Grattan took offence; a challenge ensued, and the parties were prevented meeting only by the interference of the civil power. Both were men of the coolest courage; and it is to be feared, that had they met in the field the conse-

* Parliamentary debates of Ireland.

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quence would have been fatal. Two remarkable incidents show that no ungenerous thought, or ignoble act characterised his public exertions, which shall be noticed subsequently.

Mr. Flood supported sir Henry Cavendish's motion, at the the same time he wished to extend its operation. His opening speech is thus given in the parliamentary reports:—

"Sir, I find myself little capable of speaking to this question, oppressed with sickness as I am, and not in the least degree expecting such a question this night, and more astonished than ever I was in my life, to find the least symptom of opposition arising on the opposite side of the house.

"The opposition to it should originate here, for the resolution does not go so far as it ought to do. In lord Townshend's administration a resolution was proposed—'that the condition of this country required every practicable retrenchment to be made in its expenses,'—and the administration of that day thought they had done enough, and allowed themselves latitude sufficient, by amending it with the words,—'consistent with the welfare thereof, and the honorable support of his majesty's government,' The resolution, so amended, stood then exactly like the present motion, which I think still allows too great an inlet to public profusion.

"Some men will think of their own welfare, when the welfare of the country is the object, and include their own support within the honorable support of his majesty's government. I did not think any man on the side of administration, would have opposed this motion—I rather supposed they would have called out, in triumph, to let it pass—they would have exulted to see the new commons—'the new country, Ireland, in her emancipated and dignified state, would not

tolerate the nonsense that was current in lord Townshend's administration.

"I am as willing as any man to pay compliments to ministers, both here and in England; to allow them every degree of credit for their honorable intentions; I have not the smallest ground for animosity or resentment to them; and when I hear economy recommended from the throne, almost in the words of the hon. baronet, I am the more astonished at a ministerial opposition to this motion.

"Indeed, I believe the words of that recommendation were, by some accident, misplaced, or that government has not digested a plan of retrenchment; it should not have followed immediately the mention of the Genevan colony*—a body of virtuous men, who, to avoid the most ignominious slavery, have sought an asylum in this country,—it was not the proper place to use the word *economy—there,* it disgraces the virtuous and generous acts of men who have just recovered their own liberty; by placing it *there,* we may lose a great deal of honor, yet can save very little money. It is not to such little things we are to look for relief,—our retrenchments should reach *establishments,*—and, not like England, plunge deeper each day in ruin. Ministry both here and in that kingdom, have often been warned of the consequence that must follow, but these warnings have been treated as the visions of speculative men. England, that great and mighty country! now staggers under a load of debt, distress, and dismemberment;* her expenses overwhelm her, and where is the man who will say, she shall be redeemed? Where is the man who will say, I will redeem her, and will say how? Though every little minister, or every little man who imagines he is a minister, is ready to undertake the management of her affairs.

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* For the history of the immigration of Genevese, see Gordon, vol. ii.

† The separation of America, and embarrassment in India.

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"Where is the man who will say, Ireland ought to have a peace establishment of fifteen thousand men? When the augmentation took place, in lord Townshend's administration, this country was unable to bear it, and, since that day, we have been involving her deeper and deeper, because at first we embarrassed her in an undertaking beyond her strength.

"When all the world united against Britain, and she was surrounded by enemies, we gave way to the feelings of our hearts, and spared her four thousand men; and some time after, in the moment '*de flagrante bello*,' we granted her more than half our remaining troops. If, then, in time of war, the country remained secure without regulars, will any man say, that in the time of profound peace, she ought to support fifteen thousand men? No. Now is the time of reducing your military establishment; let your intention be known this day that the right honorable secretary may have time to communicate with England? If you neglect the present opportunity no minister will have even a pretence for restoring the finances of this country.

"I am no partizan, either here or in England; I can gain nothing—I am, in either place, ready to support ministers, when they are right, and, whenever they are wrong, to oppose them, and resist measures. At present, I hope my honorable friend will allow me to alter his motion, and state a precise idea. I would have it run thus,—Resolved, 'that the condition of Ireland requires every practicable retrenchment, and that the military establishment, in its present state, affords room for effectual reduction.' I love the army as a body of brave and worthy men, but I would not sacrifice the kingdom to their benefit.

"Now, sir, if ministers really mean economy, they will agree to this amendment of mine: if not, they will amuse us with the words only."

MR. GRATTAN.

"I shall not trouble you long, nor take up the time of the house by apologizing for bodily infirmity, or the affectation of infirmity. I shall not speak of myself, or enter into a defence of my character, having never apostatized. I think it not necessary for the house now to investigate what we know to be fact. I think it would be better for the house now to go into the business, as the house did on another occasion, without the formality of the committee's report.

"As to myself, the honorable reward which a grateful nation has bestowed on me, for ever binds me to make every return in my power, and particularly to oppose every unnecessary expense. I am far from thinking with the honorable gentleman as to the speech, and I believe he will find instances where economy was recommended from the throne, but prodigality practised. This was the case in lord Harcourt's administration —one which had the support of the honorable gentleman, and therefore he, of all men, cannot be at a loss to reject that illusory economy which has so often appeared in the speeches of viceroys.

"With respect to the Genevese, I never thought it possible to give the speech such a bias as has been mentioned; and that people will be deceived if they give credit to any declamation that infers from the words of the speech from the throne, anything but an honest economy in applying the public money fairly to their use. The nation has deserved great honor by this transaction, and I should be sorry to have it tarnished by inference or insinuation.

"In 1781, when the burdens of Ireland were comparatively small, I made a motion similar to this on the table; the honorable gentleman then opposed me. I have his sanction now, that I was right and he was wrong; and I say this, that

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though gentlemen may for a while vote against retrenchments, they will, at last, see the necessity of them. Yet, while I think retrenchments absolutely necessary, I am not very sure this is just the time to make it in the army. Now, when England has acted justly,—I will not say generously,—now, when she has lost her empire, when she still feels the wounds of the last unhappy war, and comforts herself only with the faithful friendship of Ireland.

"If, in 1769, when the liberties of Ireland were denied, and those of America in danger, it was thought unadvisable to retrench our army; there can be no such reason to reduce it now, when both are acknowledged and confirmed.

"When we voted four thousand men to butcher our brethren in America, the honorable gentleman should have opposed that vote: but, perhaps, he will be able to explain the propriety of sending four thousand men thither. But why not look for retrenchment in the revenue and other departments?

"In my mind, the proper mode would be to form a fair estimate of what would be a reasonable peace establishment, and reduce our several departments to it."

In the preceding speech of Mr. Grattan, it would be impossible to excuse the spirit of its personality, were we not provided with the introductory sentences which elucidate the motive. The depreciation of the statesmanship of Mr. Grattan was very general, owing to the limited view he advocated of the important questions pending between the legislatures of England and Ireland, from April, 1782, to January, 1783. From their incompleteness at the first period, to

their accomplishment at the second. It has been assumed that his opinions originated in his magnanimity, and an unqualified reliance on the good faith of England; and while the *sentiment* does him honor, yet its sufficiency has never been considered in international transactions. The context of his speeches on two occasions quoted by authorities,* would not seem to imply that confiding sentiment attributed to him.

"The act of renunciation," writes Mr. Belsham, "was a necessary consequence of the general plan of Irish freedom, for the mere repeal of the declaratory act, did not in the views of the common law make any difference in the relative situation of the two countries," i. e. the dependency of Ireland.

Hence, when this wordy contest arose, Mr. Flood was in his meridian of fame, and his distinguished antagonist almost in the nardir point of obscuration.

The next point in the foregoing speech is, the Genevese colony, to whom Mr. Flood wished to extend the shield of Irish protection and to maintain by Irish hospitality, an accession of protestants as well as hardy peasants to colonise a district uninhabited by natives. Mr. Grattan, however, as the champion of government and defender of

* Belsham, vol. ii. "Author of the Strictures on Plowden."

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their measures and establishments just now, thought differently. The advantage was hypothetical at the time, from the circumstance of the adventurers being republicans, but which was counterbalanced by their being uncompromising protestants.

The next point is lord Harcourt's ministry. An analytical view of that nobleman's acts has been given in another part: but he certainly lost the confidence of lord North by his too great partiality to Irish interests. From the first to the last act of his government, we have historically* before us, instances of a remarkable liberal policy, and even economical for that time.

When Mr. Grattan in the last paragraph refers to a motion he made in 1781, for retrenchment, which was then opposed by Mr. Flood, and thus to mark his inconsistency, we are at a loss for a reason why he should have assumed such a position for an argument against the motion on the table.

There was no analogy between the state of affairs in 1781 and 1783, no more than there was between a state of war and a state of peace.

If Mr. Flood opposed a retrenchment of the military establishment at the first named period, a wise caution countenanced his views; but no circumstance whatever forbid a reduction at the last period.

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* Gordon's history, vol. ii.

MR. FLOOD'S REPLY.

"The right honorable member can have no doubt of the propriety of my saying a few words in reply to what he has delivered. Every member of this house can bear witness of the infirmity I mentioned, and, therefore, it required but little candour to forbear a nocturnal attack on that infirmity. But I am not afraid of the right honorable member,—I will meet him any where, or on any ground, by night or by day. I would stand poorly in my own estimation, and in my country's opinion, if I did not stand far above him. I do not come here dressed in a rich wardrobe of words, to delude the people—I am not one who has promised repeatedly to bring in a 'bill of rights,' yet does not bring in that bill, or permit others to do it. I am not one who has threatened to impeach the chief justice of the king's bench, for acting under an English law, and afterward's shrunk from that business. I am not the author of the 'simple repeal,'—I am not one who, after saying, 'the parliament was a parliament of prostitutes,'* endeavoured to make their voices subservient to my interest. I am not one who would come at midnight, and attempt by a vote of this house to stifle the voice of the people, which my egregious folly had raised against me. I am not the gentleman who subsists on your accounts. I am not the mendicant patriot who was bought by his country for a sum of money, and sold his country for prompt payment. I am not the man who in this house loudly complained of an infringement made by England by including Ireland in a bill, and then sent a certificate to Dungannon, that Ireland was not included; I never was bought by the people, nor never sold them. The gentleman says, 'he never apostatized,' but I say, I never changed my principles,—

* Parliamentary debates.—Mr. Grattan's epithet.

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let every man say the same, and let the people believe them if they can.

"But if it be so bad a thing to take office in the state, how comes the gentleman connected with persons in office? They, I hope, are men of virtue, or how comes the gentleman so closely connected with colonel Fitzpatrick? I object to no man for being in office,—the patriot in office is the more a patriot for being there. There was a time when the glories of the great duke of Marlborough shrunk and withered before those of the right honorable gentleman. When palaces superior to Blenheim were to be built for his reception,—when pyramids and pillars were to be raised and adorned with emblems sacred to his virtue: but the pillars and pyramids are now sunk, though then the great lord Chatham was held inferior to him; however, he is still so great, that the queen of France, I dare say, will have a song written on the name of Grattan.

"Lord Harcourt practised economy; but what was the economy of the duke of Portland? One hundred thousand pounds were voted to raise twenty thousand seamen, though it was well known, that one-third of the number could not be raised! And what was the application of the money?—it was applied to the raising the execrable fencibles!

"It is said, I supported lord Harcourt's administration,—it is true; but I never deserted my principles, but carried them into the cabinet with me. A gentleman who now hears me, knows that I proposed to the privy council, an Irish mutiny bill, and that not with a view to a parliamentary grant. I supported an absentee-tax, and, while in office, I registered my principles in the books of government. The moment I could not influence the ministry to the advantage of this nation, I ceased to act with them.

"I was the first who ever told them, than an Irish mutiny bill must be granted.

"If this country is now satisfied, is it owing to that gentleman? No—the 'simple repeal,' disproved and scouted by

all the lawyers in England and Ireland, shows the contrary: and the only apology he can make, is that he is no lawyer at all. A man of warm imagination, and brilliant fancy, will sometimes be dazzled by his own ideas, and may for a moment fall into error; but a man of sound head could not have made so egregious a mistake, and a man of honest heart would not persist in it after it was discovered.

"I have now done. Give me leave to say, if the gentleman enters often into this sort of colloquy with me, he will not have much to boast of at the end of the session."*

MR. GRATTAN'S INVECTIVE.

"In respect for the house, I would wish to avoid personality, and return to the question; but I must request liberty to explain some circumstances alluded to by the honorable member. The honorable member has alluded to St. Christopher's bill; I will declare the fact, he may tell a story.

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* When this reply was made, Mr. Flood had been *four and twenty years* in parliament; his antagonist little more than *seven*,—which gave an air of assumption to the speech of the younger member. Hence the indignation of the veteran senator, at so sudden an attack. Lacedemonian and Roman deferential manners, in this respect, were more commendable.

A pecuniary grant from an impoverished nation, was consistent enough with the majority of the commons,—always prodigal of the public money. Parliaments were generally so; for what could be more easy than enunciating the little monosyllable, "aye." Mr. Grattan was superior to them: he at first declined, and only accepted a lesser sum after much hesitation. He seemed to feel this was paying him by *anticipation*.

The British senate did not vote a grant to lord Chatham till the lapse of many years' devoted service; which was consistent with their own dignity and respect for the man. Milton defended, with his eloquence, the commonwealth, and sacrificed his *eye-sight* in the cause, without pecuniary reward.

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When I received a copy of that bill, it gave me much pain and much offence; I thought I saw the old intention of binding Ireland by English laws; I, therefore, spoke to that effect in this house. I also showed the bill to the most virtuous and able in this kingdom, who were of opinion, 'that my suggestion was wrong;' in this opinion I acquiesced.

"As to coming at midnight to obtain a vote imposing silence on the people, I deny it; it was mis-stated in the papers. My resolution was, 'to declare this country free, and that *any* person who should speak or write to the contrary, was a public enemy.' All this house, all the revered and respected characters in this kingdom heard me, and know what I say is true. But it is not the slander of a bad tongue, of a bad character, that can defame me; I maintain my reputation in public and in private life: no man who is not a bad character can say I ever deceived him; no country has ever called me cheat.

"I will suppose a public character,—a man not now in this house, but who formerly might have been here. I will suppose it was his constant practise to abuse every one who differed from him, and to betray every one who trusted him.—I will suppose him active,—I will begin from his cradle, and divide his life into three stages. In the first, he was intemperate; in the second, corrupt; and in the third, seditious. Suppose him a great egotist, his honor equal to his oath, and I will stop him and say—Sir, your talents are not so great as your life is infamous; you were silent for years, and you were silent for money. When affairs of consequence were debating, you might have been seen passing these doors like a guilty spirit, just waiting for the moment of putting the question, that you might hop in and give your venal vote; or, at times, with a vulgar brogue aping the manner, and affecting the infirmities of Chatham; or, like a kettle-drummer, lathering yourself into popularity to catch the vulgar;—or you might be seen hovering over this dome, like an ill-omened bird of night with sepulchral

notes, a cadaverous aspect and broken beak, ready to stoop and pounce on your prey. You can be trusted by no man—the people cannot trust you—the minister cannot trust you; you deal out the most impartial treachery to both. You tell the nation that it is ruined by other men, while it is sold by you. You fled from the embargo, you fled from the mutiny bill, you fled from the sugar bill! I, therefore, tell you, in the face of your country, before all the world, and to your beard, *you are not an honest man.*"*

It is said Mr. Grattan never liked recurring to this exertion of vituperative eloquence, which, like "the fly of Ethiopia," maddened and plagued whom it pursued. We no where find in English elocution an instance of so much personal acerbity in debate. This speech, and two others of Mr. Grattan, against Mr. Corry and Mr. Giffard, will always be remembered, as much from the inordinate excess of villification in which he indulged, as from the celebrity of his oratorical powers. However, Mr. Grattan's invective against Mr. Flood is pre-eminent for its sustained length. The figures he chose to convey his vengeful ire, gave it much the character of premeditation. The apostrophe, by which he dexterously brought before the house a supposititious character, allowed him to observe the

* Report in the parliamentery debates.

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courtesy due to it, while the other figure, the *aparinthmesis*, permitted him to enumerate the assumed political derelictions and personal defects of his adversary, with a minuteness and bitterness that is without parallel.

The promethean vulture did not gorge on the vitals of his victim with a more insatiable appetite, than did Grattan on the character of his political opponent.

MR. FLOOD'S VINDICATION.

"I have heard a very extraordinary harangue indeed, and I challenge any member to say, that any thing half so unwarrantable was ever uttered in this house. The right honorable gentleman set out with declaring he did not wish to use personality, and no sooner had he opened his mouth, than forthwith issues all the venom that ingenuity, and disappointed vanity, for two years brooding over corruption, had produced. But it cannot taint my public character,—four and twenty years employed in your service has established that; and as to my private character, let that be learned of my tenants, my friends, and those under my own roof; to them I appeal, and this appeal I boldly make, with an utter contempt for insinuations false as they are illiberal. The whole force of what has been said rests on this,—that I once accepted office, and this is called apostacy! Is a man the less a patriot for being an honest servant of the crown? As to *me*, I took as great a part with the first office of the state in Ireland at my back, as ever the right honorable gentleman did with mendicancy behind him."

Here Mr. Flood paused, and the speaker took the opportunity to interpose, and said he had

suffered inexpressible pain during the contest, and nothing but the calls of the house to hear the two members, could have made him sit silent. Mr. Flood being constrained to discontinue, left the house, and a message was immediately sent to Mr. Grattan. They had almost reached the ground appointed for a serious meeting, when they were arrested, and bound over to keep the peace, in recognizances of twenty thousand pounds each. It was, however, felt by every one that Mr. Flood should have a further opportunity of vindicating his fame from an attack, which he certainly had not provoked, and which, from the intensity of its virulence, and concatinated severity, bore so many marks of pre-meditation. The most ample report is to be found in a recent number of a periodical; * but the points of this denunciatory harangue are preserved in the foregoing report. On the 1st of November Mr. Flood was permitted to continue his vindication, during which time the house extended to him, the indulgence of speaking in his place seated, owing to the continuance of his indisposition. As this speech has been characterized in the following words, I shall present it without any curtailment.—"Mr. Flood never forgot what was due to his audience or to himself; and,

* University Review, March, 1836.

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accordingly, his defence does not contain a single sentence which at any future period he could have wished unuttered. It is free from a single particle of ungenerous personality, or envenomed vituperation."

"Mr. speaker, I wish to take the earliest opportunity of addressing a few words to you, and likewise to the house, on the situation I left you in last Tuesday. You heard, sir, and this house heard me, the subject, as I think, of an unwarrantable attack. I rose to defend myself, I am sure with temper—I am not lightly moved—I was, however, interrupted, though I did not bring any fictitious subject before you, or set out without the appearance of an argument. In consequence of interruption I left the house, but soon after, I understood the house would give me liberty to proceed, and I wish to take the earliest opportunity of returning you my thanks for that permission; and at the same time that I do so, I hope you will suffer me not to render it an empty indulgence, but, on the present occasion, permit me to take up the subject where I left off:—

"When, sir, you find me out of order,—when you find me drawing a suppositious character,—when I say any thing unparliamentary, stop me. I rise, sir, in defence of an injured character; and when I recal the aspersions of that night,—while I despise them, they shall be recalled only to be disproved. As I have endeavoured to defend the rights of this country for four and twenty years, I hope the house will permit me to defend my reputation. My public life, sir, has been divided into three parts—and it has been despatched by three epithets. The first part, that which preceded lord Harcourt's administration; the next, which passed between lord Harcourt's and lord Carlisle's; and the third, which is subsequent. The first has a summary justice done it, by being said to be 'intemperate,'—the second is treated in like manner, by being said to be

'venal,'—and the conduct of the third, is said to be that of an 'incendiary.'

"Sir, there are some cases of so peculiar a nature, that a strict adherence to the order of the house would be the height of injustice. The attack made on my character went back, not only to the arguments of two or three nights before, but to the conduct of twenty years antecedent: therefore, sir, I hope that if animadversions of twenty years are allowed to one, I may have an opportunity of referring to arguments used three days ago.

"With respect to that period of my life which is despatched by the word 'intemperate,' I beg the house would consider the difficult situation of public men, if such is to be their treatment. That period takes in a number of administrations, in which, the public were pleased to give me the sentence of their approbation. Sir, it includes, for I wish to speak to facts, not to take it up on epithets, the administrations of the duke of Bedford, lord Halifax, the duke of Northumberland, lord Hertford, and lord Townshend. Now, sir, as to the fact of 'intemperate,' I wish to state to you how that stands, and let the honorable member see how plain a tale will put him down. Of those five administrations there were *three,* to which I was so far from giving an 'intemperate' opposition, that I could not be said, in any sense of the word, to oppose them at all—I mean the three first. I certainly voted against the secretary, (Mr. Hamilton) of the day, but oftener voted with him. In lord Hertford's administration I had attained a certain view, and a decided opinion of what was fit, in my mind, to be done for Ireland. I had fixed on three great objects of public utility, I endeavoured to attain them, with that spirit and energy with which it is my character and nature to act and to speak,—as I must take the disadvantages of my nature, I will take the advantages of it too,—they were resisted by that administration. What was the consequence? A conflict arose between that administration and me, but that conflict ought not to be called

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opposition on my part; no, it ought rather to be called opposition on theirs. I was the propounder—they resisted my propositions. This may be called a conflict with, not an opposition to, that administration. What were those three great objects? One was to prove that the constitution of parliament in this kingdom did still exist; that it had not been taken away by the law of Poynings, but that it was by an infamous perversion of that statute, by which the constitution had suffered. The second was, the establishment of a constitutional military force, in super-addition to that of a standing army,—the only idea that ever occurred in England, or in any free country in Europe, was that of a constitutional militia. The third great object I took up, as necessary for Ireland, was a law for limiting the duration of parliaments in this country. These were three great, salutary, and noble projects, worthy of an enlarged mind. I pursued them with ardour, I do not deny it, but I did not pursue them with intemperance. I am sure I did not appear to the public to do so, since they gave my exertions many flattering testimonies of their approbation; there is another proof, however, that I was not 'intemperate'—I was successful. Intemperance and miscarriage are apt to go together, but temperance and success are associated by nature. This is my plain history with regard to that period. The clumsiness or virulence of invective may require to be sheathed in a brilliancy of figures, but plain truth, and plain sense are best delivered in simple language.

"I now come to that period in which lord Harcourt governed, and which is stigmatized by the word 'venal.'

"If every man who accepts an office is 'venal,' and an 'apostate,' I certainly cannot acquit myself of the charge, nor is it necessary. If it be a crime universally, let it be universally ascribed; but it is not fair that one set of men should be treated by that honorable member as great friends and lovers of their country, notwithstanding they are in office, and another set of men should be treated as enemies and apostates. What

is the truth? Every thing of this sort depends on the principles on which office is taken, and on which it is retained. With regard to myself, let no man imagine I am preaching up a doctrine for my own convenience; there is no man in this house less concerned in the propagation of it. I have no treaty with the right honorable member on this floor, nor will I have any. Sir, I beg leave briefly to state the manner in which I accepted the vice-treasurership:—

"It was offered me in the most honorable manner, with an assurance not only of being a placeman for my own profit, but a minister for the benefit of my country. My answer was, that I thought in a constitution such as the British, an intercourse between the prince and the subject ought to be honorable. The circumstance of being a minister ought to redound to a man's credit, though I lament to say, it often happens otherwise; men in office frequently forget those principles which they maintained before. I mentioned the public principles which I held, and added, if consistently with them, from an atom of which I would not depart, I could be of service to his majesty's government, I was ready to render it. I now speak in the presence of men who know what I say. After the appointment had come over to this kingdom, I sent in writing to the chief governor, that I could not accept it unless on my own stipulations. Thus, sir, I took office.

"The administration before, I opposed only in part, the first session I did not. I never opposed lord Townshend till after his prorogation, and protest, and money bills, which appeared to me an infamous violation of the privileges of parliament.

"By the protest he endeavoured to make the journals of the house of lords instead of being a record of their privileges, a monument of their disgrace. What did I oppose in that administration? The violation of the privileges of this house with regard to money bills, and the wanton augmentation of offices by the division of the board of commissioners.

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" In lord Harcourt's administration what did I do ? I had the board of commissioners again reduced to one, by which a saving of twenty thousand pounds a year was effected. I went further, I insisted on having every altered money bill thrown out, and privy-council bills not defended by the crown. Thus instead of giving sanction to the measures I had opposed, my conduct was in fact, to register my principles, in the records of the court—to make the privy-council witness the privileges of parliament, and give final energy to the tenets with which I commenced my public life. The right honorable member who has censured me, in order to depreciate that economy, said, ' that we had swept with the *feather* of economy the pens and paper off our table,' a pointed and brilliant expression, is far from a just argument. This country had no reason to be ashamed of that species of economy, when the great nation of Britain had been obliged to descend to a system as minute, it was not my fault, if infinitely more was not done. If administration were wrong on the *absentee tax,* they were wrong with the prejudices of half a century,—they were wrong with every great writer that has treated of Irish affairs,—they were wrong with some of the plainest principles of human nature in their favor. Conversely, I will suppose the determination not to except this tax to be right, still it was meritorious in lord Harcourt to have offered it. To show that I was not under any undue influence of office, I appeal to the memory of many gentlemen present, whether, when the disposition of the house was made to alter on the absentee tax, and when administration yielded to the violence of parliament,—I appeal to the consciousness and public testimony of many present, whether *I did veer and turn with the secretary,* or, whether I did not make a manly stand in its favor. After having pledged myself to the public I would rather break with a million of administrations, than retract; I not only adhered to that principle, but, by a singular instance of exertion, found it a *second* time under the consideration of this house.

"Thus, in lord Townshend's time I brought the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments to a final and triumphant close, by which I restored to the universal community of Ireland a right, of which they had been deprived for a century, without it, this house was but a shadow. Having restored this root of all other rights, I practised economy in lord Harcourt's vice-royalty. Hence, then, instead of relinquishing my principles, I preserved them—instead of getting a minority * to vote for them I brought a majority to give an efficient sanction to their truth. By accepting office at that time, and acting as I did, I acted the part of an honest minister between the prince and the people; in doing so I think I was more a patriot, than if out of office, I had made empty declamations without any advantage to the public.

"In lord Harcourt's ministry the vice-treasurership was offered me, accompanied with every declaration that could render it acceptable to an honorable mind. Did the administration of England send over an office usually reserved for one of their distinguished members, and, of their own accord, offer it to a reprobated man? I take the facts of both countries to disprove this calumny.

"Is it since I have justly become a mark of obloquy? I flatter myself not. With regard to lord Harcourt's administration the charge is, 'I did too much; with regard to lord Buckingham's, I did too little:' these two accusations run a little in contrary directions, and like a double poison, each may cure the operation of the other. The fact is, I acted not on visions and imaginings, but on sound common sense,—the best gift of God to man,—which then told me, and which still whispers, that some administrations deserve more active support than others. I adopted my conduct to these conditions—to what I saw and what I felt—neither giving a headlong opposition to government at one time, nor an indiscriminite support at another.

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* The minority that generally supported Mr. Flood.

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"Did I support lord Harcourt?—Why? Because he gave me an influence in his government; and it would be nonsence to say, a man would not support his own councils: but lord Temple did not give me an influence, and I did not give him my support. Was there any thing more fair? I felt myself a man of too much situation to be a mere placeman; if not a minister to serve my country, I would not be the mere tool of salary. What was the consequence? I voted with government in matters where they were clearly *right*, and against them in matters of importance where they were clearly wrong; in questions of little moment I did not vote at all. Why? Because I scorned, by voting for them, on such occasions, to seem to pay court: such was my plain way of dealing.

"I told lord Buckingham I could not attend the cabinet councils of the sage Mr. Heron; was that duplicity? I did more; I sent my resignation to England through the same friend by whom the first communication was made me on the subject of office; but from an idea of friendship to me, he took time to consider, and at length declined to deliver my resignation. Thus much of the middle period.

"The third, commencing with lord Carlisle's administration, in which my conduct has been slandered as an "incendiary." There was not a single instance in which the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Grattan) did not co-operate. If I am an incendiary, I will gladly accept of the society of that right honorable member, under the same appellation. If I was an incendiary, it was for moving what the parliaments of both kingdoms have since given their sanction to. If that is to be an incendiary, God grant that I may continue so. Now, sir, I do not know that my dismission from office was thought any disgrace to me; I do not think this house or the nation thought me dishonored. The first day I declared those sentiments for which I was dismissed, I thought it to my honor. Many very honorable and worthy gentlemen, one of whom is since dead, except in the grateful memory of his country,—one who thought

me so little the character of an 'incendiary,' that he crossed the house, together with others, to congratulate me on the honor of my conduct, and to embrace me in open parliament. At that moment I surely stood free of the imputation of an 'incendiary!' But this beloved character, (Mr. Burgh), over whose life or over whose grave envy never hovered. He was a man wishing ardently to serve his country, but not wishing to monopolise the service,—wishing to partake, and to communicate the glory of what passed! He gave me, in his motion for 'free trade,' a full participation of the honor. On a subsequent occasion he said,—I remember the words well, they are traced with a pencil of gratitude on my heart,—'that I was a man whom the most lucrative office of the land had never warpt in point of integrity.' The words were marked, and I am sure I repeat them fairly; they are words I should be proud to have inscribed on my tomb. Consider the man from whom they came—consider the situation of the person concerned, and it adds and multiplies the honor. My noble friend,—I beg pardon, he did not live to be ennobled by patent, but he was ennobled by nature,—was thus situated: he had found himself obliged to surrender his office, and enter into active opposition to that government from whom he had obtained it; at the same time, I remained in office, though under the circumstance of having sent in my resignation. That he did not know; but, careless to every thing except honor and justice, he gave way to those sentiments of his heart, and he approved.

"I have mentioned, sir, that short period during which the character of an 'incendiary' must have come on me, 'like a thief in the night,' and taken me unawares.

"Sir, I have received this day, from the united delegates of the province of Connaught, an approbation, 'WITH ONE VOICE,' as they emphatically express it, of that conduct that has been slandered by the epithet of 'incendiary!' An assemblage, not one of whom I have ever seen, not one of whom I have even a

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chance of doing a service for, and, therefore, could have nothing in contemplation, but the doing an act of justice. Sir, I had a similar expression of approbation from another province—Ulster. Therefore if I am an incendiary, all Connaught are incendiaries—all Ulster are incendiaries! With two provinces at my back, and the parliament of England in my favor, (by the act of remuneration) I think I need not fear this solitary accusation. I have also the judicial power in my favor: if my arguments were not right, lord Mansfield's were not right. I ask, was he wrong? After having mentioned the judicial power, let me bring before a highly respectable body—the corps of lawyers of Ireland—who, after six months' meditation in a committee by ballot, gave their sanction to that opinion, which is the opinion of an 'incendiary,' if I deserve that name. Then, if lord Mansfield be an incendiary—if the parliament of England are incendiaries—if the corps of lawyers of Ireland are incendiaries—if the Ulster delegates are incendiaries, if the Connaught delegates are incendiaries—if all the societies who joined in that opinion throughout this kingdom are incendiaries,—then, in the name of God, let me be added to the number, let me be an incendiary too!

"Sir, one circumstance more I must mention, as it is somewhat extraordinary. It has been said by the right honorable member (Mr. Grattan,) that 'I am an outcast of government and of my prince.' Certainly, Sir, my dismission from office was attended with the extraordinary circumstance of my dismission from council, hence I suppose it is, that the right honorable member has called me the 'outcast of Government and my prince;' it was certainly sir, an extraordinary transaction; but it likewise happened to Mr. Pultney, and the duke of Devonshire;* therefore it is not a decisive proof of a reprobated or factious character, and it is the first time it has been mentioned to disadvantage.

* Mr. Fox, was likewise erased from the list of privy councillors, in 1798.

"Sir, I have trespassed too long, and I am impressed with the weight and multitude of thanks which I owe you and the house. I have troubled you too long on a private subject; with your permission, I will endeavour to make amends the next day, by bringing before you, one of greater importance—the economy of the nation.

"Sir, you have heard the accusation of the right honorable member. I appeal to you if I am that suppositious character he has drawn, if I am that character, *in any degree*, I do not deprecate your justice, but I demand it;—I exhort you for the honor of this house—I exhort you for the honor of your country, to rid yourselves of a member who would be unworthy to sit among you."

This justification closed the colloquy between Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan, and with it, their acquaintance. "They met accidentally a short time after, and Mr. Flood bowed in such a way as to show he was quite willing to forget what had occurred; but his advances were received so coldly as not to encourage a repetition of them: and it is but reasonable to suppose that Mr. Flood would have found it easier to forgive a charge of apostacy, which he felt he had triumphantly disproved, than Mr. Grattan a charge of incapacity, which the feeling of the public, as likewise the conduct of the British minister, was calculated to impress on him, the belief was well-founded."* There is another instance of Mr. Flood's magnanimity towards his rival. After

* Dublin University Magazine.

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the luminous introductory speech of Mr. Grattan when he brought before parliament the edicts of Dungannon, in the shape of a motion of his own, when he apostrophized the daughter of "Virginius sacrificed to virtue, and the seven bishops sacrificed to liberty." He hurried away his auditors by this memorable effort of impassioned eloquence, glowing with figures and sentiments of the boldest character, and inspired them with the idea of a public meeting complimentary to the mover.

Mr. Flood was invited to take the chair at an aggregate meeting of the officers of the volunteers, on the 18th of April, 1782 :—

COLONEL the RIGHT HON. H. FLOOD, M.P. in the Chair.

"Resolved unanimously—That the thanks of this meeting be given to Henry Grattan, Esq. for his extraordinary exertions and perseverance in asserting the rights of Ireland."

This was one of several resolutions moved and acquiesced in by lords Granard, Aldborough, Charlemont, and many other distinguished men.

Both these instances indicate how little Mr. Flood was actuated by jealousy, or any of the meaner motives, which his detractors have industriously attributed to his political doctrines.

The subsequent letters from the duke of Chandos are descriptive of the sensation caused by this violent attack of Mr. Grattan.

LETTER FROM THE DUDE OF CHANDOS.

"*Avington, 9th Nov.* 1783.

"DEAR SIR,

"THE great anxiety of mind which the duchess and myself have suffered from the receipt of your letters of the 30th past and 1st. instant, you must much easier conceive than I can express. We both unite in one idea and one request. We are most thoroughly convinced that you have been most grossly, maliciously, and enviously attacked and insulted by Mr. Grattan, which *nothing can justify, and whose conduct must be reprobated by every one breathing, possessed either of good sense or honor.* You have acted like a man of honor and feeling in consequence of his ill usage; and to take any further steps, particularly after what had passed in the house of commons afterwards, would draw down the censure of rashness on yourself. You are amply possessed of the sentiments of the house, by their not suffering him to reply to you; that alone was a full and most honorable justification of you, and the severest censure upon him. It is from these reasons that we do most earnestly intreat you to pursue this business no further; and we shall be under the cruelest anxiety till we receive an assurance from you to that effect. I intreat you to be persuaded that I feel for your honor, as much as I could for my own, and nothing should induce me to join in this request, was I not convinced in my own mind that you have received and done every thing becoming a man of the nicest honor, and such satisfaction, that, in your circumstances, I should be most perfectly satisfied with. His conduct has been that of an assassin, an assassin for Government, who, I suppose, is to pay him. Unprovoked as he was, there is but one way to answer for his conduct. There is but one opinion here relative to the shameful business; and whatever glosses hireling writers may put upon

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his outrage, no man of honor or common sense can have any other than what I have imputed to him above. I conjure you to consider the value your life is of, to your family, friends (in which number we must place ourselves in the first class), and to both countries. Be assured Mr. Grattan must lose himself in the eyes of all men, and parties; even his own must abhor him.

"I received in two letters a full account of the whole business; from my friend Coote;* to whom I should not do justice, was I not to inform you the part he takes in the ill usage you have received, and how highly he venerates and respects you: I have a very great regard and esteem for him (not the less for his feelings on this late affair), and shall be much obliged to you for any countenance you may be kind enough to give him. I think you judge right in your intentions relative to the castle. It was my wish to have remained here till after Christmas, but on further consideration have determined to remove to London to-morrow, to be in readiness for the meeting of parliament. I will write to you from thence; at present our minds are too full of you to think either of the poplins or the lawsuit, but beg you and lady Frances to be convinced we are most perfectly sensible of your kind attention to us; our best wishes attend you both.

"I intreat you to send me a line by the first mail.

"I am, dear Mr. Flood,

"your very faithful and

"obedient humble servant,

"CHANDOS."

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* Mr. Charles Henry Coote, M.P., for the Queen's County.

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF CHANDOS,

"*London, Nov.* 12, 1783.

"DEAR MR. FLOOD,

"I CANNOT but remain under very great anxiety about you till I hear from you again, which I am in hopes of every hour. To corroborate the opinion I took the liberty of giving you in my last, I have the satisfaction of finding every body in the same way of thinking; *and this morning at the levee it was much talked of, and his majesty expressed his astonishment at the violence.* Every body exclaims at the speaker's suffering members to run such lengths. Believe me, as an honest man, your honor and character stands perfectly clear in this country; the attack appears malicious, unprovoked, and unjust, as it is untrue: I do flatter myself that you will see the business in the light I wish, and in which all others behold it. The parliament met yesterday, when we received a speech from the throne, as innocent as it was gracious; so innocent, that the address in both houses passed *nem. con.* Our address was presented to-day, but I did not go up with it, as it did not contain what I think it ought to have done: and though I may think the ministers have succeeded in not saying too much, yet I think they ought to have said more.

"The house of commons are to go upon the East India business next Tuesday. *Yesterday I had much conversation with Lord Temple, who mentioned you in the kindest manner, and expressed the highest indignation at the treatment you met with the other day.* The houses are by no means full, though more of the leaders in town than I could have expected. All is quiet at present; every one looks shy upon his neighbour. There has nothing yet come to my ears worth your notice; except, that I am informed the king has positively refused the making the peers. The duchess, whose feelings I assure you

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have been much affected by the late business, joins me in every good wish to you: our minds are at present not a little agitated as our daughter was this morning inoculated. We desire you to remember us most kindly to lady Frances.

"I am, dear Mr. Flood,

"Your very obedient, and

"Faithful humble servant,

"CHANDOS."

FLOOD AND GRATTAN COMPARED.

Within the period of their lives, some of the most memorable circumstances occurred in the constitutional history of their country, since its unstipulated submission to Henry the second, and his investiture with the regal diadem.*

Mr. FLOOD entered the Irish senate towards the close of 1759, in his twenty-seventh year, and continued for sixteen years unrivalled; disseminating the doctrines of Molyneux and Locke, and receiving the encomiums of the venerable Malone, and the upright Osborne. Many acts of great national importance are comprised in that period.

Mr. GRATTAN entered the senate, the autumn of 1775, in his twenty-fifth year, sixteen years after his rival, and began his labours when the constitution of his country assumed the semblance of the British. Though endued with the spirit of

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* "The Case of Ireland."

the age, yet, till he moved the "address to the throne," he ineffectually toiled. That moment was propitious,—the moral and physical energies of Ireland were roused, and he was instrumental in effecting, after a brief career of six years, what had been the meditations of his rival for twenty-four.

The talents and acquirements of these great men were characteristic of their natures. Mr. Flood seemed to condense all the powers of his mind to convince; energy, strength, and ratiocination, were more eminent in him, than his contemporary. To assist and keep in action these faculties, his memory was the most retentive, and his perception the most discriminating: his imagination was made subservient, which the frequent use of the syllogism was adapted to effect.—"Therefore, in argument he was superior, in this respect, surpassing any man in the Irish senate, displaying as the subject demanded, a close and compact, or a diffuse and comprehensive style; pertinently enforcing the principal points of the question, connecting what was separate, and scientifically unfolding what was abstracted."* His acquirements as a scholar, combined with his natural temperament, directed him to follow the

* Mr. Scott, M.A.

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severest model of Grecian eloquence, and, it may be said of him, as Plutarch has said of Demosthenes, " his ability to explain himself, was a mere acquisition, and not so perfect but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience."* Mr. Flood aimed at the force and vehemence of his model, and the habit of versification gave him a power of condensing his thoughts with sententious brevity.

Mr. GRATTAN had more brilliant talents; and an unrestrained imagination gave a magnificence to his style. His mind cintilated with new-born sparks of patriotic fire, that with the rapidity of the electric fluid, passed from one to another. The profusion, the splendour, the variety of his imagery, received all the art and accuracy of the most perpect rhetorician; therefore, his powers were such as would captivate and persuade, rather than convince.† " In invective, a species of elocution ill-suited to the purposes of public deliberation, he endeavoured to excel. His weapons though sufficiently sharp, were totally destitute of polish; and the composition of his famed philippic,‡ had much more of the broad and coarse ribaldry of the bar, than the pointed, the elegant, and the witty raillery of the senate; his reproaches had a sting that refused to be

* Langhorne. † Mr. Scott, M.A. ‡ Against Mr. Flood.

healed, which Cicero must have told him "the orator should avoid."

Mr. Flood in invective peculiarly excelled; he gave it a poignancy and severity which the iambic measure of Archilocus hardly exceeded; and which the most conversant and most obstinate in such contests, had after months of preparation, felt to be more keen and more cutting than their studied philippics. His arrangement was clear, regular, and accurately scientific, gradually leading from what was easy to what was abstruse—from what was conceded to what was disputed; forming a connected chain of argumentation, wherein not a link could be broken without diminishing its force, nor one removed without injuring its evidence.

Mr. Grattan's voice was thin, sharp, and not powerful; his stature short, his action* peculiar, and his delivery rapid. Mr. Flood's voice was clear and distinct; his delivery though not rapid, was suited to the ardour of his language. His action was spirited and dignified; his figure tall, and manners courtly.

Mr. Grattan, in the memory of his countrymen is the more popular patriot and orator, from his advocacy of the catholic claims, and abolition

* Lord Byron says, "harlequin manner," in his observations on him. —*Life and Correspondence by Moore.*

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tithes, and the comparative recency of his triumphant endeavours. It has been said of him in regard to these great questions—"that as from the laurel leaf of the conqueror's crown is extracted a poison destructive of the human race, so splendid services and indisputable deserts may be converted into means of disturbing the public mind, and embittering the public happiness by sapping the firmest foundation of property, and agitating questions pernicious in their origin and pestilent in their progress."*

Mr. Flood made the greater sacrifices for his country; but he maintained the opinion of protestant ascendancy in the institutions, as in the property of the country; he was therefore against the extension of the elective franchise to catholics at that period,—his political scepticism diminished the regard of the catholics for him.—With men of letters and with statesmen, he is the more to be admired.

He was profoundly versed in all constitutional and political learning, familiarly acquainted with law, and deeply skilled in the theory of commerce. "To record his parliamentary conduct would be to enumerate all the great questions that have been discussed for the last thirty years,† in each

* Mr. Scott, M. A.

† Mr. Scott, the writer of this paragraph, published his "Characters," in 1789.

of which he took the most decided part in favor of the prosperity of Ireland, and the honor of the crown."

His felicitous application of classical allusion is exemplified in the following instance.—When pressing a question of importance on ministers, he was evasively replied to, "that the secretary who was acquainted with the subject was absent," then turning to the empty bench of the secretary he said, "formerly the oak of Dodona used to utter oracles of itself, but the wooden oracle* of our days is obliged to give his responses by deputy." On an important debate, when thirteen of the Hillsborough club, who had been enjoying a bacchanalian festival, came in at the close of the discussion to give their votes *against* him. He stopped on seeing them enter the house dressed in orange and blue, (the colours of the club). "Hah! what do I behold! I hail those glorious colours auspicious to the constitution! These *honorable* men have, no doubt, spent the night in vigils for the glory and fortune of the commonwealth;"—then, extending his arms,—"come, come, to this heart with all your patriotism." This raillery had a magical effect; it put to confusion and flight the herd of partisans.

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* "The wooden oracle" was Mr. Heron.

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A very remarkable instance is related of his apostrophising the figure of Corruption. In the midst of his speech, he saw a whipper-in of government taking down the names of such as promised their votes, and soliciting others, as he was gliding from bench to bench, on his venal errand. The orator saw him,—he instantly stopped, and looking with astonishment as if he saw a frightful apparition; he broke silence, —"What," he said, "is that I see! Shall the temple of freedom be still haunted by the foul fiend of bribery and corruption? I see personified before me an incarnation of that evil principle which lives by the destruction of public virtue!" Then, using an exorcism,— "Avaunt, thou loathsome sprite,—thou pander to ministerial profligacy! and no longer pollute with thy presence this edifice consecrated to the constitution!"

We are assured that the sensation produced in the house was indescribable; the personification of Corruption disappeared, and the orator was admired for the happy application of the noblest but most hazardous figure of elocution. He resumed the subject of debate with a more favorable disposition of the house.

Mr. GRATTAN always prepared* himself for *particular* subjects; his eloquence was glowing,

* Vide Grattan in the Gall. Ill. Irishmen.

impassioned, amplifying, and figurative,—pourtraying splendid idealities, which, as they decoyed the administration, not unfrequently carried persuasion to the breasts of his auditors. His argument abounded in postulates and generalities so dexterously introduced, as to appear just and apposite, when most fallacious. This remark will not be supposed depreciatory, when it is considered, that the cautery of his eloquence was so often applied to the protestant ecclesiastical establishment, more with an irritating effect, than a tendency to remove, or to redress grievances.

There was also a marked difference in their introduction to the British senate :—

Mr. Flood was too proud to be strictly a follower of a party,—nor would he have a patron. He, therefore, entered the new political arena in no way constrained to either side. He had taken office from a tory minister, (lord North) and was an admirer of lord Chatham and his son, successively. His avowed principle about parties was,—"*With respect to Ireland, I regard measures, not men.*" Hence, he had no political supporters in the British senate ; but he had a reputation of thirty years to save him from the calumny of the "chartered libertine."

Inconsistencies in his public conduct are much less apparent, than in many other statesmen, contemporaneous and subsequent. His genius

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was less indebted to those accessories which are indefinitely placed under the head of fortune.

Mr. GRATTAN was an undeviating whig, and from the outset, had patrons,—first, lord Charlemont, then Mr. Fox, next, lord Fitzwilliam.

He appeared in the British senate, under the auspices of the whig leader, to speak on that "*multum vexata questio*," the catholic claims,—one, of all others, he was most familiar with; he therefore was prepared to second the motion, and encouraged by Mr. Fox, who brought him from a remote seat, he spoke with a success which determined his renown.

Fortune put forth all her accessories to secure him never-fading glory. He was the morning-star that rose with the dawn of freedom over his fatherland; he appeared sixteen years later, and continued thirty years after, his rival luminary had set. The period, the measures, and the administrations were auspicious: and his plastic disposition secured him the favor of his patrons and his party. He said of his rival, "that he forgot he was a tree of the forest too old and too great to be transplanted at fifty;" yet, he himself was transplanted at *sixty*; but the solution is readily found in this contrast,—Flood was a member of *two* legislatures, Grattan of *one*; the affairs of Ireland *were not* so generally entertained in the British senate in the time of the

former, as in that of the latter; the complexity of domestic and foreign politics in the time of Flood, their convergence and unity in that of Grattan. Both were ardent advocates of freedom; the one with a learned and philosophic mind, the other with an enthusiastic and impetuous nature.

Had they lived in times of national political vicissitude, amid an energetic commonwealth, the capacious and learned mind of FLOOD—like that of Vane or Hampden—would have constructed a temple to liberty; while the persuasive eloquence of GRATTAN would have adorned and illumined the shrine.

Nor have their posthumous honors been less contrasted. The ashes of GRATTAN have been inurned with the great at Westminster; and the storied marble is a memorial of his glorious life. But of FLOOD, no monumental tablet records his fame; no living statue bent in allegoric grief; nor even, lowly slab to mark who sleeps beneath.*

* The characters of Flood and Grattan are conceived from the following authorities—Dublin University Magazine, Gordon's History, Barrington's Historic Memoirs, and Lord Byron's Remarks on Grattan and Flood, and Mr. Scott's "Principal Characters."

Mr. Flood is buried at Burnchurch, the family burying place for several generations. When the writer was quartered in Kilkenny, in 1835, he went out to see Mr. Flood's tomb. He asked the grave-digger, "Where is Mr. Flood's tomb?" "Is it the grave of the great sir Harry?" (the bye-name the country people had for him)—"Yes, where is it?" "Why, there's none—he's buried there by the church wall."

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From the 10th to the 29th of November, 1783.

THE GRAND NATIONAL CONVENTION.

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Both kingdoms were involved in a concatenation of colonial and domestic events, when Mr. William Pitt considered the parliament of England below a virtual representation, and Mr. Flood maintained the parliament of Ireland was scarcely above a nominal representation, of the people. In both assemblies, the great ministerial leaders of parties were rigidly adhered to, as transcending in importance the welfare of constituencies, and the primary duties of representatives.

But if the evil was observable in England, what was it in Ireland? Where the accumulation of borough interest in the hands of a few, was exercised for their particular advantages, and

where a Harpalus was sure to find a mercenary advocate. These defects led the volunteers at the second Dungannon meeting, to draw up categories,* which they addressed to their general, the earl of Charlemont, for his approbation. "We humbly hope," said they, "your lordship will favor us with your sentiments at large on this subject, (reform), pointing out such a specific mode of reform, and the most eligible steps leading to it, as come up to your lordship's ideas. We have yet another favor to request—that your lordship would inform us whether shortening the duration of parliaments, exclusion of pensions, limiting the number of placemen, and a tax on absentees, be, in your lordship's opinion, subjects on which the volunteers of Ireland ought to interfere?"

In this passage we have an averment of the deliberative character of the meeting, their precise objects, and their reference to lord Charlemont how far they ought to interfere. After a few introductory compliments, the noble earl replies in the following words:—"A reform in the representation of Ireland is a measure which, most certainly, meets with my warmest approbation; and you may be assured that I shall co-operate with every sincere lover

* Belsham, vol. iv.

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of his country towards the attainment of that desirable object: but to point out a 'specific mode,' is a matter of so difficult a nature, that I should esteem myself presumptuous if I should attempt it.*

"Respecting the other points upon which you desire my judgment, they are all of them important and of nice discussion; but I will abstain from entering into them, for this plain reason—that I would heartily recommend it to you, to confine yourselves to the one great measure only, which, when once carried into execution, will infallibly secure all benefits of inferior magnitude."

Such was the advice of lord Charlemont, though spontaneously invested by the delegates with the power of putting a veto on any one, or all, of the topics enumerated. But, on the contrary, he only gave priority to reform, and consecutively would follow "benefits of inferior magnitude." As a privy-councillor—as an avowed supporter of Mr. Fox, (now one of the ministry), lord Charlemont might, with propriety, have suggested doubts on the compatibility of this second Dungannon meeting to discuss questions, which seemed to be an encroachment on the province of parliament. Instead, however, of the high

* Hardy, vol. ii.

consideration of the impolicy of encouraging the bold innovations contained in the categories, he enjoined them in persuasive language to meditate on the attainment of their plans. From this time the volunteers had four months to digest their schemes, and to correspond with members of the British legislatures. The resolution for a select committee of delegates to assemble in Dublin, in the beginning of November, to decide definitely on a bill of reform, had been taken before Mr. Flood arrived from England.

It was too late to change their opinions; but it was possible to control them. While lord Charlemont and others cautiously withdrew from the effects of that force they themselves had contributed to encrease, Mr. Flood took the more statesmanlike course, of directing them.

From the 10th to the 29th of November, the convention sat continuously, discussing plans of parliamentary reform, but pre-eminently that submitted to the committees of examination by Mr. Flood. It may be in the recollection of the reader that several members of parliament were likewise delegates, and no hint was given that their proceedings were considered unconstitutional, though nineteen days had elapsed, and the parliament were simultaneously deliberating, and the privy-council were inimical to the convention. Yet neither body took a step to assert their dignity,

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if it were really impugned. No; the first act of the new parliament was to vote an address of thanks to the volunteers, and, by inference, to the convention that was about to assemble!

Here it may be deemed excusable, if once more we introduce Mr. Hardy. The context of his book and his speech may be instructive to view him in his duplex character, as a member of parliament for the manor of Monaghan, and, on this particular event, apologist for the earl of Charlemont.

SPEECH.—29th NOVEMBER, 1783.*

"That from the gentlemen who composed the convention, he could apprehend no danger to the constitution. That as to the military assembly sitting in the metropolis, he agreed with gentlemen that it was a novel and extraordinary proceeding, nor did he wish to see it drawn into a precedent; but he would ask, was not the situation of Ireland itself novel and extraordinary? * * * * * * * * * * *

"But in fact, whatever share the convention might have had in it, the honorable gentleman who made the motion, and the right honorable gentleman who seconded it, bring it forward as their own act, and not that of any supposed body of men whatsoever. Does not this disavowal of conventional interference, tacitly pay this house that respect, the infringement of which, is so loudly exclaimed against? and may not those who are the most severely jealous of its dignity be, in some measure, satisfied when the right honorable gentleman, (Mr. Flood,) notwithstanding all the predominant influence which his great

* Irish parliamentary debates.

and over-shadowing abilities are said to have secured to him in that convention, does not attempt to appear before gentlemen in any other character than an undistinguished member of parliament, properly, and constitutionally asking leave to bring in a bill to remove certain defects in the representation of the people ?"

BOOK.—VOL. II. p. 131.*

The convention was, independent of its military origin, which alone was sufficient to condemn it, the least justifiable of any convention that ever sat in Ireland. It thought proper to meet, not only immediately † after the revolution of 1782, but directly at the same time with the new parliament, whose character or whose temper, on any subject, had not been tried at all ; and superadded to that, the particular subject for the promotion of which the convention now met—parliamentary reform—had never, as a question of debate, been entertained by any house of commons whatever in Ireland.

SPEECH.—29th NOVEMBER, 1783.

"It behoved the house of commons to take the subject proposed into their own hands, and as soon as possible to meet it with temper and with firmness, to be above the little finesse of setting their dignity against their duty,—of sheltering themselves in their dereliction of the latter, by an affected support

* Memoirs,

† One year and seven months after. How credulous he must have thought his readers.

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of the *former*; and above all, by one great comprehensive and honest investigation of this subject, to invite the people to prefer an early confidence in them, their newly elected natural guardians of their rights, to any body of men in the world. * * * * * * It had been said that the bill for a reform was the work of the convention, to that he could only say, that had there been the slightest allusion to,—the slightest avowal of the interposition of the convention in this business, he would not hesitate a moment as to the manner of his voting that night."

BOOK.—VOL. II. p. 135.

Several of the minority, and all the delegates who had come from the convention, were in uniforms,* and bore the aspect of stern hostility. On the other hand, administration being supported on this occasion by many independent gentlemen, and having at their head very able men, such as Mr. Yelverton, presented a body of strength not always seen in the ministerial ranks, looked defiance at their opponents, and seemed almost unassailable. They stood certainly on most advantageous ground, and that ground given them by their adversaries."

SPEECH.—29TH NOVEMBER, 1783.

"It was, in fact, beneath the dignity of any house of commons, to evade the discussion of a great constitutional

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* No very unusual practice. Party costume was one way of knowing the retainers. The reader will be amused at observing the context of the book and speech; how admirably the latter nullifies the former.

question; but for the present house, which had been so recently elected, and elected almost in the very effulgence of the Irish revolution; for such a house to shrink totally back from the VERY FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION that came before it, without any stipulation on the part of those who opposed it now, to support it on a future day, when brought forward in what appeared to them a less questionable form, would, in his opinion, be rather disgraceful. * * * * If they did not—if they merely shifted off the question on account of THE CONVENTION, without any serious intention of taking it upon themselves, what would be the consequence? The question might, indeed, be exiled again and again from that house, but it would not be in their power to banish it from the people. They would have "scotched the snake, not killed it." The idea of a reform has already been taken up by many respectable counties, and if absolutely rejected to-night, will, in all probability, be taken up by many more,—the minds of people will be more heated than ever, and the event will be, that after many a conflict in this house, instead of a long digested, moderate, rational plan of reform,—if reform shall be found necessary,—such a reform as shall be found congenial to the principles of the constitution, and no more * * * instead of this, we shall in some giddy inauspicious moment, precipitantly adopt some plan, every feature of which will denote the wild hostility against the constitution which produced it. * * * * The honorable member closed his speech, by giving his affirmative voice to Mr. Flood's proposition!"

Probably, we could not find a more perfect example of tergiversation. It must be borne in mind by the reader, that the above citation is from the maiden speech of Mr. Hardy, who took his seat, for the first time, as the nominee

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of lord Granard on the important 29th of November. As the inceptive address of a man of talent it is well worthy of perusal, as being the longest and most comprehensive made on that occasion. It is evidently a studied one, as indeed most first speeches are, the common-places of the subject matter, being neither trite nor unconnected; and the arrangement being lucid and to the point. But it is pitiable to trace how prejudicially he wrote against himself twenty-six years afterwards, and how wrongfully he stigmatized the reputation of a great public character. His work having the name of "Charlemont" prefaced to it, gained a circulation and credence by no means its merit, either from the narrative of events, the exactness of his biography, or the impartiality of his personal sketches. His speech and his book are a modern instance of the facility of argument which is recorded of Callisthenes, "who, when asked to speak, chose for his theme the Macedonian nation, which he did in so good a manner as to excite the plaudits of his hearers, whereupon Alexander said—"it is easy to be eloquent upon so good a subject, but turn your style and let us hear what you can say *against us*," which Callisthenes did with that sting and life, that Alexander interrupting him, said—the goodness

of the cause made him eloquent before, and *despite* made him eloquent *then again*."*

More extended citations, alternately from his speech and book, would rather be further corroborative of his humiliating servility to a party, than conclusive as to facts. We may now be pardoned for turning to a few passages where he descends again into personality :—

BOOK.—VOL. II. p. 108.

"A dictator was appointed, not indeed in name but substance. The bishop of Derry moved that Mr. Henry Flood, who had not been one of the committee should be appointed an assessor; and here was displayed the potency of oratorical talents in such a body of men, and the justice of lord Bolingbroke's observation, that the house of commons, or, in short, any assembly partaking of the nature of the house of commons, is *like a pack of hounds*—'they will always follow the man who shows them most game.'" If lord Bolingbrooke ever made so vulgar a simile, we can easily apply it to his meaning—pensions, places, and perquisites; what Mr. Hardy's pedestrian idea may have been, we need not take the trouble to seek. He is not very courteous to the lords, commoners, members of parliament,

* Lord Bacon on learning.

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whom he had praised shortly before; but it is as astutely said. A warm intimacy had long subsisted between the earl of Bristol and Mr. Flood, they coincided and acted together in the convention, one point of difference only excepted. The right reverend earl wished the elective franchise extended to the catholics, in which opinion the duke of Richmond concurred; Mr. Flood, on the contrary, limited his bill to the protestants, which was analogous to the ancient laws of the constitution, and consistent with the state affairs of the period; and this peculiarity in the framing of his reform, preponderated almost unanimously with the delegates. His legislative wisdom was confessed by the addresses of three provinces, the opinions of the lawyers of both kingdoms, and the British act of remuneration: his ascendancy, therefore, was complete, and not without plausibility, he may have been a "dictator." The last sentence of the paragraph does little honor to the genius of lord Bolingbroke, if he ever used the expression, still less to the house of commons his reflection was drawn from. However, its application to Mr. Flood and the convention is unfortunate—the duke of Richmond recommended *universal suffrage* "in the most decided language," says Mr. Belsham, and on the same subject men of the first abilities were consulted, lord Effingham, Mr. Pitt, Dr. Price,

Dr. Jebb, and major Cartwright. Mr. Flood, in fact, lost some of his popularity by the limitation he put to the elective franchise!

As Mr. Hardy pretends that Mr. Flood was "the dictator" of this assembly of gentlemen, a reflection arises—how a far presiding mind was beneficial or hurtful in such a political scene? A philosophic and eloquent historian resolves the theorem at once in a lucid and instructive form:—"But in the complicated scene of human affairs there is no theory that will fit all cases. Among beings capable of pleasure and of pain, of enjoyment and suffering, the general advantages is the supreme law to which all others give place; the hazard and the evil are in one man, setting up his judgment and superseding the judgment of others when the affair is theirs. His intention may be the purest that can be imagined—his judgment may be enlightened in the highest possible degree; but this is perhaps one of the cases, in which the event must decide upon the soundness of the proceeding."

What was the event here? We shall find it to have been the rejection of parliamentary reform in any shape or guise. This was only the immediate result. But what was the ultimate one? The easy management of a legislative union—the abrogation of the constitution of Ireland; and, though the efforts of science

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may render distance unimportant—though the unwearied application of statesmen may *now* do much, yet for nearly half a century Ireland felt her destitution.

BOOK.—VOL. II. p. 116.

"Flood's angry frown and angry comments exiled them all. His plan, notwithstanding all his subtle interpretations and comments, was, on sober investigation, found not much superior to many which preceded it. Nay, there were some, who like Dangle in the play, thought the interpreter was the hardest to be understood of any of his coadjutors."

We find here some malignancy superadded to circumstantial misrepresentation.

Mr. Flood's plan of reform for Ireland, submitted to the convention at the Rotunda on the motion of the right honorable and right reverend the earl of Bristol, bishop of Derry, and approved by the lords, commoners, members of parliament, and delegates, assembled 28th of November, 1783.

SCHEME OF REFORM.

"That every protestant freeholder or leaseholder, possessing a freehold or leasehold for a certain term of years of forty shillings value, resident in any city or borough, should be entitled to vote at the election of a member for the same.

"That decayed boroughs should be entitled to return representatives by an *extension* of franchise to the neighbouring parishes. That the suffrages of the electors should be taken by the sheriff, or his deputies on the same day at the respective places of election. That pensioners of the crown receiving their pensions during pleasure, should be incapacitated from sitting in parliament. That every member of parliament accepting a pension for life, or any place under the crown, should vacate his seat. That each member should subscribe an oath that he had neither directly nor indirectly given any pecuniary or other consideration with a view of obtaining that suffrage of an election. Finally, that the duration of parliament should not exceed the term of three years."

This was the plan he considered applicable to the exigencies of Ireland, in 1783; neither enigmatical, nor difficult of interpretation: and with reference to the æra, and the moral and social condition of the kingdom, appeared simple and effectual. What was the consequence? "It was," writes Mr. Belsham,* "received with great applause, and resolutions to the same purport unanimously passed."*

The suggestions of the earl of Bristol though

* Vol. iv. p. 38, et seq.

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admirable for philantrophy, were scarcely preferable to "universal suffrage" recommended by the Duke of Richmond. But there is another proof that this measure was not forced on the house. Mr. Flood was left in a minority of *forty-nine*,* which in the venal state of representation at that time, was the most powerful minority on a great question since the absentee tax. The sentiments of a learned and eloquent testimony, Dr. Browne, subsequently, we believe, fellow of Trinity College, may conduce to give a right view of this important historical transaction, adorned as it is with a lustre of language, which invests a by-gone subject with attraction and interest. "He could not endure the thought, that while the great names who offered the bill, floated down the stream of time, his little bark should not be seen to pursue the triumph.† The question is *magnificent* and *simple*; it is, whether you will receive a bill of the first magnitude, introduced by the first men in this house? A bill which professes to restore the constitution to its pristine vigour, and that beauty with which it appears in theory and in history—which proffers to add sinews to virtue, and perpetuity to liberty. It seems to be 'the messenger of glad tidings.' It bears a promising countenance—"*multum magna et præclara*

* Hardy says, seventy-seven. † Irish parliamentary debates.

minantis! we ought to receive it, even if its garb were a little exceptionable, but IT IS NOT: it approaches you in the robes of decency, with the MODESTY AND FIRMNESS of DETERMINED VIRTUE. It does not enter this house with force; but it is received with force. It is unattended with violence; but it is met with violence. I have seen no violence this night, but on the *part* of *administration*: but the frenzy of administration has conjured up terrific forms, which no man in his sober senses could see."

"Mr. Brownlow at the desire of the delegates, seconded the motion to bring in the bill, he was opposed, with uncommon violence by the servants of the crown, and with such threats of intimidation as ought never to be heard in a legislative assembly; by him they were heard and despised.* His respectable character is well known, and generally esteemed; but no where more than in his own county, where no person should be so absurd as to think of voting against him. Of ample fortune and liberal birth, these form his smallest praise, whose foundations are much deeper laid, and are not to be shaken by the stormiest blasts of calumny or envy. As an orator, he has, indeed, few claims to public distinction, for his voice is thin, sharp, and disagreeably toned,

* Author of the principal characters of the Irish commons.

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alike deficient in strength and melody; and his manner is neither pleasing nor conciliating. His matter, though far superior to either, and sometimes solid and sometimes new, is not yet of the very first impression, it forcibly strikes but does not always convince. His language though sparingly ornamented, is yet neither low nor mean, but possesses a degree of easy and unstudied elegance, rather the effect of polite intercourse than of careful choice; his arguments are easy and natural, congenial to common apprehensions, and free from all sophistical involution. Spirited, indeed, he is, and sometimes bold even to daring; but though the fire of his elocution is strong, it is more the steadiness than the splendour of its blaze that we have to admire. If he does not animate his audience by the qualities of ardour and of energy, he yet ever obtains their complacent attention by the dignity of his conduct, by the decision of his actions, and by his unblemished moral reputation. But what gives an irresistible weight to every word he utters, is the acknowledged independence of his mind and the undeviating rectitude of his parliamentary conduct. No tool of party, and no slave of state, he is the real representative of an independent county, supporting its rights with steadiness and echoing its sentiments with integrity. Dashing defiance in the teeth of the minions* of

* Minions of power, Yelverton, Scott, and Fitzgibbon.

power, he stands firm as on a rock; and in a certain perilous situation* showed himself undismayed by their opposition, and unterrified by their threats; whilst others are to be applauded for abilities and eloquence, *he* is to be revered for worth and patriot virtue." Such was the individual who presided as chairman of the committee convention, and who was selected from his moral and political influence to second the measure of reform. His speech in the commons is preserved,† and pithily expresses the exact state of affairs in the following remarkable words, which are indicative of the retainers of government.—" Gentlemen opposite are at a great loss for arguments when they conjure up aerial phantoms of armed men presenting it on the point of the bayonet."

The opinion of a moderate and judicious recurrence to the first principles of representation, was entertained by some in both houses of parliament, and very generally in the country. Hence we find almost the first act of the house of commons, on the 14th of October, was deliberately to vote an address of thanks to the volunteers for their continued patriotic services, which body had delegated a select number of their officers to meet on a day appointed, and for the discussion of a subject premeditated.

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* The convention. † The parliamentary debates of Ireland.

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The motion of lord Sudley, in the commons, was followed by a proposition from the earl of Montnorris in the lords, who presented a bill for the "frequent holding and assembling of parliaments in this kingdom."* The first act countenanced the volunteers in their proceedings, and the second implied the necessity of a more vigorous system of legislation.

Lord Charlemont, who had been but recently made a privy councillor by the viceroy, ambitioned the honor of being president of the convention; a post, it is fair to assume, he would not have sought, had Mr. Fox, who was in power, expressed his disapprobation, or had the earl of Northington considered it discourteous. Mr. Hardy, however, thought it requisite to write, in 1812, an apology for the noble president in reference to his conduct, in 1783; for he says†— "to the astonishment of lord Charlemont, Mr. Flood arose about four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, November 29th, and proposed that he, accompanied by such other members of parliament, as were then present, should immediately go down to the house of commons, and move for leave to bring in a bill exactly correspondent, in every respect, with that he had submitted to, and was approved of by, the

* Belsham, Vol. IV. † Hardy's Memoirs, Vol. II.

convention." If this statement be not a fiction, it is difficult to account for the noble lord's astonishment, for he, in his letter from Lurgan, had selected that precise subject, and that *alone* for their consideration; he was conscious that reform was canvassed in every possible manner, and that the very convention he presided over was composed of gentlemen, who for four months had studied and prepared schemes more or less applicable. It is likewise unfortunate that facts do not coincide with the precipitancy Mr. Hardy has given to the discussion; but the truth is, the bill for parliamentary reform was *not the first* subject that engaged the attention of the house of commons, on the 29th of November, for on reference to the reports,* a parliamentary debate took place on a financial system, when Mr. Yelverton defended that of government, and Mr. Flood strongly recommended the report of the committee of accounts, of 1768, as a model for the plan to be pursued in 1783. Therefore, he could not be said to have hurried from the bar of one house to that of another. The committees having examined the bill framed by Mr. Flood, it was finally approved on the 28th, the day previous to the debate, and then Mr. Brownlow was chosen by the convention to second the motion.

* Irish Parliamentary debates.

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Mr. Hardy again says, "to this proposition" he, Mr. Flood, added another—"that the convention should not adjourn till the fate of the motion was ascertained." Now, sir Jonah Barrington, an authority, on this subject, preferable to Mr. Hardy, because more free from disingenuous subtlety and malice, gives the resolution in these terms:—"That the sittings of the convention should be permanent till the parliament had decided the question."* The implications of these propositions are essentially different. It is apparent, however, throughout the narrative of the biographer, that he was anxious to avert the odium from the noble president to the individual whom he designates the "dictator," and lord Charlemont gains little by so indifferent a compliment, for it follows, he had no power to amend the resolution, or even to negative it—that Mr. Brownlow was beyond the pale of his authority, and likewise the greater part of the assembly—that he presided less with the active energies of a man than the quiescent decorum of a pagod.

"A more complete designation and avowal," says Mr. Hardy, "of a deliberative assembly co-existing with the lords and commons, and apparently of co-extensive authority could scarcely be made."

* Historic Memoirs.

And where could censure be more properly applied, than on a government which permitted such innovations, without an effort to suppress what was contumatious to the legislature and executive? The remark militates strongly against the coalition ministry, who thought to sway the gigantic influence of popular opinion, by the instrumentality of a new-made privy councillor, who, by his presence, might seem to legalize the meeting, though he were not

> "Of Atlantean shoulders fit to bear,
> The weight of heaviest cabinets."

Mr. Hardy continues—"Lord Charlemont had received a hint of this extraordinary movement from Mr. Flood, but it was no more than a hint." It would be ridiculous in any one but an apologist to state, that the president of a dangerous meeting, which, as he asserts, assumed powers co-extensive with the legislature, knew nothing of the proceedings, except "a hint," particularly, when a session of three weeks of animated discussion had elapsed. Mr. Flood having recently differed with the noble earl, on a point already noticed, it is more than probable he did not consult lord Charlemont, what line of conduct he should pursue, when as a statesman he must have perceived, that the fever which had risen almost to its crisis, by the almost abrogation of popular rights

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for centuries, required instant means to alleviate, by carrying off the humours and evils of the state by popular remedies. If the means were unconstitutional and perilous, the irresolution of ministers on the one hand, and the exuberant eloquence of popular orators in both countries on the other, had encouraged this political distemper.* The wretched condition of the Etrurian peasantry in the time of the Gracchi, scarcely surpassed the distresses of the unrepresented and unheeded peasants and farmers of Ireland up to this period; and the humane and touching exclamation—"The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause, having nothing left but *air and light!*" "Without houses,—without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their children: and their generals (their representatives) do but mock them—" could be appositely paraphrased to depict the destitution of the Irish. A powerful oligarchy had long enjoyed ascendency, and their nominees formed a part of the national representation.

Before proceeding to the more interesting collition of the parliament and the volunteers, it is hoped that a personal slander may be repelled

* This hypothesis is used merely for the argument. Mr. Hardy himself admitted in his speech, when mists and visual delusions had not obscured his ken, that it was constitutional.

without unnecessarily detaining the reader. Mr. Hardy says, "Nor would he, Mr. Flood, perhaps, have brought the measure forward at all, had he not been impelled by personal motives. His great ambition was to take the lead in this business of reform, as at that time he looked to a seat in the British parliament." If the plan of parliamentary reform had received a close investigation by two committees, during a session of three weeks, it could not be said to be hurried into the house of commons to serve Mr. Flood's personal convenience; neither could the house reject it on the hypothetical argument, that it was the identical measure adopted by the national convention. Mr. Flood was a member of the British parliament *at the time.* Before October the 8th, the negotiation for the borough of Winchester had been concluded. The visit Mr. Flood made the duke of Chandos, in the summer of this year, terminated the affair, and the agent's, and the duke's letters, refer to the writ of election being ready on the 12th of October.

Yet, as such documents are of no interest except that they substantiate the fact, they are purposely omitted here. But a communication from a man of letters,* his unalterable friend, bearing date the

* Mr. Webb, author of essays on the antiquities of Ireland, and poems, &c.

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7th of November, which shall be introduced a little subsequently, has this conclusive sentence—"You remember from the first of our acquaintance I wished to see you a member of the English parliament. You tell me, 'that you are come in on the most unexceptionable form,' I had not the least doubt of that from the moment that I first heard of it."

Mr. Hardy has thought proper to follow Mr. Flood and his friend, the earl of Bristol, with an acrimonious spirit of detraction, which can only be accounted for, as suitable to the tastes and opinions of his party; not, indeed, unlike the petty politicians alluded to by Mr. Burke—"*Tria faciunt monachum,—bene loqui de superiore, legere breviarium taliter qualiter, et sine res vadere ut vadunt,*" as the best recommendation to notice.

The collision between the government and the volunteers, commenced by sir Edward Newhenham acquainting the house, "That, pursuant to a notice he had given some time since, he would have brought on the business of parliamentary reform but a right honorable friend of his, who had promised his assistance, would now bring it forward instead of him." After these introductory words from sir Edward, Mr. Flood rose and said:—"Sir, though the subject on which I propose troubling the house is of the first

importance, yet I shall not anticipate the future discussion of it. I therefore, sir, most humbly move you for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament." Brief and decorous as these preliminary observations were, Mr. Yelverton, then attorney-general, violently repudiated the idea, as originating in an armed assembly, and therefore, inconsistent with the freedom of debate to receive it. In a highly declamatory speech, on a measure not regularly before the house, he expressed himself with so much art and insinuation, as to engage the passions of both sides. It is true, that the coalition ministry were averse to the proceedings of the convention and the volunteers ; and instructions were transmitted on the advent of the bill, to the servants of the crown in Ireland to offer every opposition to the present design. Such was the policy of "the monstrous coalition," as Mr. Powys emphatically termed that, between lord North and Mr. Fox—"the lofty asserter of the prerogative, had now joined alliance with the worshipper of the majesty of the people!" The influence of the cabinet was too nicely balanced to be unmoved by the agitation which pervaded every part of the sister kingdom. The plausible grounds taken up by the able placemen of the Irish government complied to the letter of their instructions. They resisted the introduction of a bill of reform as a

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mandate from an armed assembly; though the same argument would have been applicable to the formidable first and second Dungannon meetings which had equally dictated to the legislature.

As Mr. Yelverton, took the initiative in this momentous debate, Mr. Flood, *replied* on the inferences to be drawn from one of the wisest political maxims—"*Principiis obsta.*"

MR. FLOOD'S REPLY TO MR. YELVERTON.*

"Sir, I have not mentioned the bill, as being the measure of any set of men, or body of men whomsoever. I am as free to enter into the discussion of the bill as any gentleman in this house, and with as little prepossession of what I shall propose. I prefer it to the house as the bill of my right honorable friend who seconded me,—will you receive it from us? (Here Mr. Flood sat down, and after a short pause he rose and said,) In the last parliament it was ordered, 'that leave be given for the more equal representation of the people in parliament'—this was in the duke of Portland's administration, an administration the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Yelverton) professes to admire, and which he will not suspect of overturning the constitution.

"I own, from the turn which has been given to this question, I enter on it with the deepest anxiety; armed with the authority of a precedent I did not think any one would be so desperate as to give such violent opposition to the simple introduction of a bill. I now rise, for the first time, to speak to the subject, and I call on every man, auditor, or spectator, in the house, or in the galleries to remember this truth,—that if the volunteers are introduced in this debate it is not I who do so. The right honorable gentleman, says, 'if the volunteers have

* Irish parliamentary debates.

approved it he will oppose it;' but I say, I bring it in as a member of this house, supported with the powerful aid of my right honorable friend (Mr. Brownlow,) who sits behind me. We bring it in as members of parliament, never mentioning the volunteers. I ask you, will you receive it from us—from us your members neither intending by any thing within doors or without, to intimidate, or over awe you? I ask, will you—will you receive it as our bill, or will you conjure up a military phantom of interposition to affright yourselves?

"I have not introduced the volunteers, but if they are aspersed, I will defend their character against all the world. By whom were the commerce and the constitution of this country recovered?—By the volunteers!

"Why did not the right honorable gentleman make a declaration against them when they lined our streets—when *parliament* passed through the ranks of those virtuous armed men to demand the rights of an insulted nation? Are they different men at this day, or is the right honorable gentleman different? He was then one of their body; he is now their accuser! He, who saw the streets lined,—who rejoiced—who partook in their glory, is *now* their accuser! Are they less wise, less brave, less ardent in their country's cause, or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy? May they not say, we have not changed, but *you* have changed. The right honorable gentleman cannot bear to hear of volunteers; but I will ask him, and I will have a STARLING TAUGHT TO HOLLOW IN HIS EAR.—Who gave you the free trade? who got you the free constitution? who made you a *nation? The volunteers!**

"If they were the men you now describe them, why did you

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* *Declaration of the volunteer army* of Ulster. "That the dignified conduct of the *army* lately restored to the *imperial* crown of Ireland its original splendour—to nobility, its ancient privileges, and to the nation at large, its inherent rights as a sovereign independent state." Such was the assumed power of the volunteers, in 1782. The parliament was considered then almost anti-national.

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accept of their service, why did you not *then* accuse them? If they were so dangerous why did you pass through their ranks with your speaker at your head to demand a constitution—why did you not *then* fear the ills you now apprehend?"

Mr. Flood, in this reply, overwhelmed his adversary by these unanswerable facts, which are compressed within one paragraph of his speech. The declamation of Mr. Yelverton was a matter of expediency, he conjured up the military phantom to awaken the political pusillanimity of his adherents; "a corrupt and all-subduing influence, which, with a silent course had borne down every barrier of liberty and of virtue. It has done what power," said a learned professor of the Irish university,* "never could have done.

'Quod nec Tydides, nec larisseus Achilles,
Nec decem anni.'

"Corruption did not approach them with the haughty air of a Strafford, but with the courtly elegance of a modern secretary, or the mild insinuating manners of an attorney-general." In this sense, truly indeed, has Mr. Hardy written, that the ministerialists "looked defiance at their opponents, and seemed unassailable:" and his speech is the counterpart of what he has written on the convention. Mr. Flood was left in a

* Dr. Browne, Trinity College.

minority of forty-nine ;* and as the house of commons of Ireland was then constituted, it was supposed to have about *sixty* members uninfluenced by the crown or not nominated to their seats.

The four most eminent placemen of the day were, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Scott, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and Mr. Hutchinson—the athelatæ of the political arena—rose from a common level to the most conspicuous offices of the state, and were all rewarded for their consistency to government, by elevation to the peerage.

An able writer, their contemporary, has thus sketched one of them, which bears characteristics of each severally.—" To rise from the middle rank of life to fame and to fortune, to high dignity and exalted station by the exertion of conspicuous talents and superior abilities, is a distinction highly honorable and meritorious, enjoyed but by few, however aimed at by many. Elevation is truly pleasing when the ascent to it has been facilitated by the labours of genius, and when conscious worth has ennobled those toils that a laudable ambition had inspired. Such was the fate of some of the most respected names of the ancient world, who, unaided by the blazonry of illustrious ancestry, or the powerful support of

* Parliamentary debates.

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family connexions, raised themselves to the first rank in their respective states, by the sole force of their own deserts. Remarkably different as the constitution of our government is, from the republics wherein they flourished, yet still the same path, to reputation, to opulence, and to honors, which they trod, is open; and the modern orator, eminent at the bar and in the senate, commands the issues of success, and fixes at pleasure the fortunes of his family. We find these results singularly coincidental to the public characters and fortunes of the four most able supporters of the Irish government, for a quarter of a century.

Mr. Yelverton instantly received as a reward for his labours the chief baronship of the exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgibbon the attorney-generalship.*

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* An anecdote, of Fitzgibbon and Scott, was related to the writer by a gentleman who knew the fact.—After the elevation of these men to their new dignities, they were invited to dine with an attorney, who first brought them into notice in the Four Courts, by giving them briefs; they accepted his invitation, not wishing to discard their old friend; but as he lived in an unfashionable street they did not like to have noticed the "lowly means by which they did ascend." Fitzgibbon drove to an adjacent street, and then alighted from his carriage, and walking sneakingly to the house, he met Scott, they passed without recognition: to avoid detection they walked to the end of the street in opposite directions, and turned; both met again, but finding they were engaged to the same host, Scott said to Fitzgibbon—"Ah! Mr. attorney-general, I see we are both engaged to the same place, do not be ashamed, pray let me show you the way" They entered the alley which led to their old benefactor's house, which their new-born vanity wished to conceal.

Mr. Flood, finding the organs of government had found it expedient to stigmatize the delegates and their proceedings, he moved an address to the king in the convention, on Monday the 1st December, two days after the debate, in the name of the delegates of all the volunteers of Ireland.

"The delegates of the volunteers of Ireland, beg leave to address your majesty, expressive of their duty and loyalty, claiming the merits of their past exertions, and imploring your majesty that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the parliamentary representation of the kingdom of Ireland, remedied by the legislature in some reasonable degree, might not be attributed to any spirit of innovation, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow-subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms."

Such was the address which Mr. Flood thought incumbent on the delegates to lay at his Majesty's feet, after what had transpired in the house of commons. He then moved "that the convention do adjourn *sine die*," which was put by the president, lord Charlemont, and carried unanimously.

The noble earl published a protest, in which he ratified the opinions and acts of the convention. By which manifestation of his sentiments he

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gave umbrage to the viceroy, the earl of Northington, and the usual court civilities were discontinued during the brief period that remained of his excellency's government.

The generous and high-minded earl of Bristol, took too conspicuous a part, as the rival of lord Charlemont, not to have a place in the memorials of that brilliant political anomaly. Whatever the meanness of Mr. Hardy may have poked out against that nobleman,—whether true or false,—no person can deny his princely munificence, and his disinterested regard for Ireland, united in one of the most accomplished peers of the realm.

The general tenor and scope of Mr. Flood's policy with regard to Ireland, are distinctly developed in the following sentence of an annalist of much ability*—"To reform the government and constitution upon protestant principles, and still to preserve the protestant ascendancy, was all that, in present circumstances, the state of the kingdom could bear; and all that an enlightened benevolence would consequently aim to accomplish." This was evidently the object of the present bill, and had it not passed through the ordeal of the convention, there could have been no constitutional argument for its rejection by the house of commons. It requires an intimate knowledge, and a minute, and patient investiga-

* Belsham, vol. iv. p. 38.

tion of the local history of that time, to form a judgment on the idea,—how far such an assemblage of men of property, of character, and of influence, were justified in convening, in a manner they must have known was anomalous to the constitution, and constructively contumatious to the legislature.

The opinion of a disinterested man of letters, who witnessed this debate, which has been meretriciously coloured by some narrators, will be found worth a volume; from the point and pleasantry with which it shadows forth the whole scene,—like the touches of a master-hand, which give vivacity and character to a picture.

LETTER FROM DANIEL WEBB, ESQ.

"My dear Sir,

"As I cannot have the pleasure of seeing you before you leave town, you must indulge me in a few moments' conversation on paper. I congratulate with you on the abrupt dismission of your bill. It was the victory of power, not of prowess. Unable to cope with you hand to hand, they *mounted* the flying island of Gullivar, and crushed you under *the weight of their rubbish!* I shall reserve for a future conversation the particular remarks I made on the whole debate. But I cannot withhold my impatience to declare the pleasure I received from your conduct throughout. It was masterly, to my apprehension, consummate.

"Your very affectionate

"And obedient humble servant,

"Daniel Webb."

"*To the Right Hon. Henry Flood.*"

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A good deal of cordiality, and some friendly acts, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, were interchanged by Mr. Flood and the duke of Chandos, whose correspondence was frequent, and for the most part, of a political character. Such letters of his grace as were found to contain interesting matter, or collateral evidence as to the affairs Mr. Flood was prominently engaged in, are embodied in this work. The following illustrate two remarkable points—his position at this crisis in history of Irish affairs, and his opinions with reference to future policy.

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF CHANDOS.

"*London, November* 18*th*, 1783.

"Dear Mr. Flood,

"Your kind letters of the 7th and 11th (the last of which I received last night) are now before me; I return you my hearty thanks for them, as they have made our minds something easier relative to you. The salutation that a certain gentleman met with, I am not surprised at; it is such a one as he must expect from every unprejudiced person everywhere, and is exactly what he deserves, and is strict truth. I had written thus far when your's of the 13th came to my hand. I am highly pleased with the *compliment, a very distinguished one indeed,* which you have received from the delegates,* which I think must be a finishing stroke to the person I have alluded to above.

"Few honorable and distinguished situations fall to a man's lot without their difficulties; there are no roses without thorns:

* The unanimous addresses of the volunteers.

yet your abilities and good sense, assisted by honest and truly patriotic principles, will, I am certain, carry you through the slippery path you have to tread, with safety to yourself, and real advantage to your country; I need not say to your own glory, for, had not that been firmly rivetted in the eyes and hearts of the public, you had not been called to the situation. You are now endued with the power of carrying your country to the attainment of the objects they wish for, in a *temperate and constitutional process, and of making parliament the channel of what may yet be wanting to complete, legally, what the parliament of England meant to convey to them.* Other modes, the offspring of violence and intemperance, might overturn the constitution; but could never establish a settled free government. A gust of wind may overset a vessel; but no storm, however strong or great, can ever set her right again. Conduct like yours cannot fail of making Ireland a great country; not only without prejudicing England, but even making her more splendid, from the reflecting beams. It has ever been my firm opinion, long before this question* was agitated between the two countries, that the more Ireland was freed from the heavy shackles with which she was formerly loaded, the more advantage this country must reap from her; and I firmly believe, a confined idea of the true policy of government, and an avaricious and unjustifiable desire of monopolising trade in a few manufacturing towns in England, were the causes of such mischievous and ungenerous measures towards the sister kingdom. Whenever Ireland becomes possessed of her natural advantages to their due extent, and her constitutional privileges, in amity and conjunction with England, I will pledge my little knowledge in predicting that both countries must increase in honor, wealth, and commerce. What then must be the result? Respect from foreign countries, plenty and peace at home, and the firmest foundation of our

* Mr. Flood's doctrine of *external*, as well as *internal*, legislation.

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natural constitution—that is to say, the free enjoyment of that heavenly united government of limited monarchy, and liberty without licentiousness, or the anarchy, of a republic. Feeling your present situation, and knowing your principles, I have ventured *to write my sentiments thus freely to you, not presuming to offer you an idea, but to give you my reasons, why (almost preceding my friendship to you) I rejoice so greatly in your present unexampled, glorious, and (permit me to add) most righteously deserved situation.* I must now speak to you as a private man, and I beg you to attend to me; for if I know my own abilities, I think I am better qualified for a friend than a politician. I have no deficiencies in my heart, though, God knows, very many in my head. Last week the duchess and I were very apprehensive lest you might be assassinated; now we agree equally in opinion, that wet feet, or over exertion in a fit of the gout, may be as fatal as a leaden bolus, or incision of a toledo blade; therefore, we entreat you, keep house till you are well, and do not make processions on wet ground. I honor the house of commons for the indulgence given you to speak *sitting.* In that posture, your language, eloquence, and argument have raised you to the skies: had you been on your legs, you must have soared to the heavens. You make me happy in your increasing numbers on the different divisions; when a snowball is once sent rolling, every turn it makes increases its magnitude: roll it on, therefore, till it comes to the size of the globe, and when it has completed that dimension, no one can be so fit to guide its motions as yourself.

"I can easily conceive, from the pain of the gout, what you must have suffered, when you retired from the house; and the relief from nature that you received, reminds me that the oak perspires, whenever an hardy and daring man attempts its root with the axe; an elm may, but no oak can, be undermined, for that has a tap root. *I hitherto approve of every step the delegates have taken; their last move, as I have*

told you above, has charmed me. How much do I feel myself indebted to you, in the centre of all your business, to vindicate me from general Luttrell's attack. The general was in part right; however, there never was an office I more ambitioned, if I could have been appointed to it at a time that I could have served Ireland, and have been invested with full powers; but he is indeed much mistaken in me, if he could imagine I would have taken the office from a spring administration, the bastard offspring of an unnatural conjunction,* to have loaded Ireland with a peace establishment of fifteen hundred men; when one rotten part of that corrupt administration had drawn every effective man out of the country, and left it to fall a sacrifice to any foreign power that might have invaded it, in order to protract a war which Lord North, for years, had made a job of. No! I had rather wait behind his chair, or give him his stirrup, than occupy the castle at this moment. *The volunteers preserved Ireland in time of war, and have certainly a right to expect a reduction† of the forces in time of peace; and whilst they exert themselves for that purpose constitutionally, and as loyal subjects to their sovereign, they have a right to my best wishes, however insignificant they may be.* Nothing of any moment passes here worth your notice. This day Mr. Fox is to bring on the East India business in the house of commons. You may depend upon hearing from me, as often as I can find any thing to make a letter tolerable. Your most admirable defence has been very imperfectly printed in our papers; I shall therefore endeavour to get it into one of them correct.

"Dear Mr. Flood,

"Your very faithful and sincere friend,

"And humble servant,

"CHANDOS."

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* The coalition between lord North and Mr. Fox.

† The object of sir Henry Cavendish's motion, which Mr. Flood supported, and Mr. Grattan opposed.

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LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF CHANDOS.

"*London, 26th of November*, 1783.

"DEAR MR. FLOOD,

"YOUR letter of the 19th has given us very great comfort. The East India bill occasions great commotions, and I think is very likely to blow up the present administration very speedily; and therefore I cannot but lament your being absent at this very critical period, and yet am aware how much you are wanted where you are. It is said, and I believe with truth, that lord Mansfield and lord Stormont have both refused to support the bill. Yesterday the duke of Richmond, lord Thurlow, and lord Temple, dined with me, to talk the bill over. Mr. Pitt was to have been with us, but was kept in the house of commons. We were all unanimous, that it was best for us to take no steps in the house of lords, for some days at least. To-morrow the second reading is to take place in the house of commons: it seems to be the firm determination of administration to drive the bill first through that house; but as we have yet not a single evidence or paper before us, I think they must give us some time. I hope we may be able to protract till after the holidays. On the event of this bill, I think will depend the fate of the present ministers. I do not absolutely wish for an alteration before Christmas, yet I think much art and ability must be exerted to prevent the fever coming to a crisis too soon.

"We are much pleased with the contents of your last Dublin paper. I have now only to add our best compliments to you and lady Frances.

"I am, dear Mr. Flood,

"Your very sincere and faithful

"Friend and servant,

"CHANDOS."

"P. S.—If you can send a friend some of lord Bellamont's or lord Mountmorris's oratory, without egotism, it may be acceptable; but it must be duty free."

Amid domestic affairs, we have accompanied this statesman through the most tempestuous season; his star, which had guided him felicitously in a long and perilous course, now waned faint into a dubious light, as he neared the long-expected harbour of his ambition.

A complimentary short missive from the duchess of Chandos, on the dedication of some fugitive poems to her grace, may with propriety, close this part of the memoirs of Mr. Flood.

LETTER FROM THE DUCHESS OF CHANDOS.

"*Chandos-House, 29th Nov.* 1783.

"DEAR SIR,

"I FEAR you will have concluded by this time, that the first fruits devoted to me from your consecrated quill have been slighted, and that I have even forgot you; but I knew not where my thanks and good wishes might meet you, till I heard of your arrival in Dublin. What happened to you then, I would wish to obliterate; retaining only in mind the joy I felt at your having so honorably triumphed over your enemies. The duke's sentiments went hand in hand with mine to you upon that subject, therefore he has left nothing for me to add upon it. I must renew my request to you, to take care of your health; first, from the friendship I bear to you; and next, for the sake of this unfortunate country, where your

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assistance is much wanted, to save it, if possible, from sinking. I will hope you may not come too late. Rapid are the strides Mr. Fox is making to establish himself arbiter of these kingdoms, which he will effectively do, if his East India bill passes both houses of parliament: then adieu to the liberties of these countries.

"You have now done every thing you can do for the benefit of Ireland, consistent with your principles of moderation. *Is it your opinion that Ireland cannot exist as a nation, independent of England?* You are in the minority in your own parliament—you probably may be in the same predicament here; but then you will have a more ample field for the display of your unbounded abilities. You will shine forth as a bright luminary in our darkened hemisphere—you will make the hacknied rogues bow down their heads, abashed at your superior talents, founded on just and right principles. You have moderated the spirit of rebellion in your own country;—you may do more here—you may prevent it.

"I shall not trouble you with any news, as the duke writes constantly to you, though, by your account, you have only received one letter from him.

"We join in compliments to lady Frances and yourself, with every good wish; and hope you will soon afford us the pleasure of seeing you in England.

"I am, dear sir,

"Your faithful humble servant,

"Anna Eliza Chandos."

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1783 AND 1784.

Mr. Flood takes his seat, for the first time, as a member of the British parliament.—The incidents attending his speech on the India bill.—Analysis of that speech.—Identity of opinions of lord Camden, Pitt, and Flood.—Courtney's ironical reply to Flood.—Probable reasons why Mr. Flood's speech was decried.—What constitutes a failure in an orator?—Correspondence of the duke of Chandos about the borough of Winchester.—Evasiveness of the duke; a challenge ensues.—Singular deficiency in spirit marked in his grace's conduct.

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MR. FLOOD took his seat, for the first time, as a member of the British senate, for the borough of Winchester. He arrived on the night of the 3d of December, at the close of the debate on Mr. Fox's India bill. His intention was simply to vote with Mr. Pitt against the bill, which had unceasingly occupied the mind of the nation; besides which, it was the great trial of strength between the antagonist parties. The subject matter, however transcendental in importance to British interests colonial and domestic, had been exhausted by statesmen, who devoted the whole

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energies of their minds to it alone: whose eloquence delineated every diversity of view, and clothed with a fresh verdure the arid portions of oriental history. Reason, too, examined with scrupulous precision every point in the newly suggested theorem of government. Mr. Flood, therefore, entered the house almost under every conceivable disadvantage;—a subject of polity of the first magnitude,—a new field of contention, —a double phalanx, inspired and led on by rival genius. Fatigued from a long journey at an inclement season—suffering from that lassitude of nature, which the spirit struggles ineffectually to overcome—he rose, unprepared to speak at any length, either as to the details of the bill or the results to be expected from it, but merely to accompany his vote with a few sentences on the *principle* of so comprehensive a measure. A concatenation of circumstances insidiously induced him to trespass beyond the limit his better judgment had first suggested.

It would have been fortunate for his fame, had he remained silent, or had he inflexibly adhered to his intention; there was ample excuse for either. The affairs of British India presented no incident untouched, nor new line of argumentation undebated; and his having been so recently occupied in Ireland, precluded the possibility of his acquiring an accurate knowledge of the

voluminous reports on the table of the house. But the lofty station he had always held in his own country, and the high circle he moved in, placed him prominently before the commons of Great Britain; in which he had many acquaintances, but no political connexions. His bold announcement, "that he rose to speak independent of either of the great leaders," has been censured as putting both sides against him, without taking the trouble to examine the probable reason of such a declaration.

Mr. Flood sat for a borough in the nomination of the duke of Chandos, but which, on this occasion, had been purchased for the sum of four thousand pounds; he therefore took his seat, not as the nominee of his grace, but as an independent member, as to vote or opinion. This proud sentiment was highly characteristic of the man, exemplified in former instances.

In this expression he delicately implied though he gave his negative to the bill, yet he was not thereby to be considered an adherent to the opposite side. In mental powers that constitute genius of a superior order, he could not be said to have been inferior to any around him, and in various and profound learning, few, if any, surpassed him in that house. Consequently, we find Hansard, (who probably was indebted to Woodfall), has given the following relation of

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Mr. Flood's speech, as well as a particular mention of the courtesy of the house:—"Mr. Flood rose, and in compliment to him as a new member and as a speaker of great expectation, profound silence prevailed directly; and he was listened to for a considerable time with the utmost attention. Mr. Flood began with apologising to the house for venturing, unacquainted as he was with the subject of Indian affairs, neither having read the reports on the table, nor knowing more of their contents than he had heard at a distance, to deliver an opinion on a bill so important as that under consideration. He thought it, however, an indispensable act of parliamentary duty, to say a few words on the occasion; and when he did so, he begged the house to give him credit for speaking his sentiments impartially.

"He was connected with no party; and equally unacquainted with administration or opposition. He entertained the most profound respect and veneration for many gentlemen on both sides of the house, whose characters were justly entitled to his esteem, as they had already obtained that of the public. He declared that he anxiously desired to be present before a measure of such magnitude had passed that house. When he assured the speaker that he was in the Irish parliament on Wednesday last, he trusted it would be admitted that he had been as expeditious

as possible in order to reach the place he had the honor to stand in.

"It could not be expected, after his acknowledged want of acquaintance with the subject, that he should enter into the particulars or details of the system proposed by the bill for the future government of India. He thought, however, that a measure of such serious importance ought not, on any account, to be precipitated; lest that, instead of proving an adequate recovery, it should tend to increase the grievance, it was professed to be intended to cure. He urged the novelty of the plan, its extensive operation, and the violent effect it would necessarily produce. In support of this assertion he instanced 'chartered rights,' ought undoubtedly to be held sacred, and never to be interfered with, but in the most urgent and pressing necessity.

"By what he had learned in the course of the day, the confusion of the company's affairs began with the interposition of parliament. The bill of 1773 was intended as a regulation for the company, and that bill appeared to have been the cause of much disorder and distress. Ought not the house, therefore, having before their eyes the evils occasioned by having once interposed, to take warning, and avoid the still greater evils that might follow their interfering again?

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"Charters ought to be held sacred: they might be regulated, but they ought not to be demolished. It was a rule with him to treat public bodies with respect, especially so, a great company who had abundant merit, and who had done their country several essential services. It had, however, been said, that necessity justified the demolition of the company's charter in the present instance: that necessity, nevertheless, remained to be proved. The exercise of power ought always to be governed by discretion, by what lawyers termed 'a sound discretion.' It was neither decent nor wise to proceed to disfranchise the East India company, and to assume the direction and government of their territorial acquisitions, with precipitation.

"He had always been accustomed to hear a high character of Mr. Hastings; to consider him a man of good heart, sound understanding, and not given to rapacity. A plan, therefore, that went to dispossess Mr. Hastings of the governor-generalship of India, did not come to him recommended in the strongest manner. The bill seemed questionable on other grounds. It was to continue four years.—Did the right honorable secretary intend to make the system permanent, or was it to last no longer than four years? Before a new system was adopted,—one, too, that was by many declared not to be

constitutional,—the house ought to be certain that it would answer the end proposed. Could the right honorable secretary say, that at the expiration of four years, it would have had time to accomplish any permanent good? If he could not, he had better not try the experiment, notwithstanding the large majority at his back."

Having put this strongly, Mr. Flood touched on several parts of the bill.

"The bill struck him as either conveying a great additional influence to the crown, or lodging influence in hands where it would be more dangerous, in proportion as it was more unconstitutional.

"With regard to the sixteen directors who were to manage the company's affairs in future, he made no scruple to say, he had every possible good opinion of their integrity and other parts of their character: but were they attentive to business? Were they conversant in the affairs of India, and likely to conduct the affairs of the company in a better system than the directors had done hitherto? The nine assistant directors had all been, he understood, formerly employed in the business of the company; and two of the seven directors had been in that capacity likewise, but the remaining five had not. This, therefore, did not appear to him a presage of the business of the company being likely to be better carried on

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in future than it had been heretofore. Why take the management of their affairs out of the company's hands? Property was universally admitted to be the best ground of legislation; hence, the company were entitled to legislate their own concerns, because they would, undoubtedly, legislate the best.

"The commissioners authorised by the bill, he compared to the Roman decemviri, and fatal had been those decemviri to Rome. He expatiated on the danger of so far weakening the prerogative or the influence of the crown, as to set up an authority sufficiently powerful to keep the crown in subjection.

"He feared the board of seven was to be like the board of admiralty, the board of treasury, or the board of trade, where *one* man had all the power, and the rest were but ciphers. Three of the directors are to be a quorum, a circumstance which confirmed him in the opinion to which he had just alluded; thus three would govern the majority of four."

Mr. Hansard has the following note on this speech:—"After a variety of remarks, delivered with great correctness of phrase, but in a more deliberate and sententious manner than is the custom of our parliamentary speakers, Mr. Flood concluded with more apologies, declaring that under all circumstances of the measure, he could

not think of voting for the third reading of the bill."*

The heads of the whole speech have been transferred to these pages, that the observations which follow might sustain the character of impartiality, from the facile reference to it. As emanating from a person who had given almost undivided attention to the government of Ireland, it required little candour to accept his excuses for not having a *minute* acquaintance with this particular bill, for colonial regulation on a novel plan. To examine and digest the voluminous reports on the alleged mismanagement of the company's affairs, required time and a secluded application; and to address the house as a legislator in a style commensurate with the extent and variety of the topic, demanded the concentration of the faculties of the mind for some time previous to the debate. Beyond a general historical knowledge of India, the information derived from the daily press, and such opinions as his correspondents in England might have afforded him, it cannot be supposed that he was anywise conversant.

To this intent his opening sentences were directed, to prepare the house for the imperfect remarks he had to offer. He evidently wished

* Hansard, 1783.

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to remove any impression the house might have entertained, of his intention to speak comprehensively on the question. However, the great politeness of the house, the profound silence, and every other mark of courtesy, induced him to extend his remarks, in obedience to those unequivocal signs of their wishes. He pressed, with much political acumen, certain points and principles of the bill, which were assumed as defective. His evil genius, "whose eyes drop poison," possessed Mr. Courtney to mock his ambitious aspirings for infinite renown, and to mark conspicuously for future distinguished men, an example, how transitory is that fame which is dependent on the capriciousness of public applause. Mr. Courtney arose, and with the aspic venom of an evil tongue, he began his reply, in a strain of irony commingled with latent malice, which, as he proceeded, displayed all the vindictiveness of his nature, in an unprovoked attack. Mr. Flood rose to resent this aspersion of his fame, when the speaker interposed, as it was already three o'clock, and he had spoken.

Sir William Wraxall, in his memoirs, says,*— "Mr. Henry Flood, one of the most celebrated orators in the Irish parliament, (who had just

* Wraxall's Memoirs, vol. iii.

been brought in for Winchester), rising for the first time, proposed to speak in the British house of commons. His appearance produced an instant calm, and he was heard with universal curiosity while he delivered his sentiments, which were strongly inimical to the East India bill. Though possessing little local or accurate information on the immediate subject of debate, he spoke with great ability and good sense ; but the slow, measured, and sententious style of enunciation which characterised his eloquence,—however calculated to excite admiration it might be in the senate of the sister kingdom, appeared to English ears cold, stiff, and deficient in some of the best recommendations to attention. Unfortunately, too, for Flood, one of his own countrymen, Courtney, instantly opened on him such a battery of ridicule and wit, seasoned with allusions or reflections of the most personal and painful kind, which seemed to overwhelm the new member." Mr. Moore, in a recent work,* has a passage which was only known to some of Mr. Flood's relatives and a few others,—that Mr. Courtney confessed to lord Byron that he was actuated by resentment—personal pique. So pitiful are the motives of some men! "When I met old Courtney, the orator, at Rogers', the poet's, in

* Life of Lord Byron.

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1811–12, I was much taken with the portly remains of his fine figure, and the still acute quickness of his conversation. It was *he* who silenced Flood in the English house, by a crushing reply to a hasty debut of the rival of Grattan in Ireland.

"I asked Courtney,—for I like to trace motives,—if he had not some personal provocation, for the acrimony of his answer seemed to me to involve it? Courtney said, *he had.* That when in Ireland, (being an Irishman), at the bar of the Irish house of commons, Flood had made a personal and unfair attack on himself, who, not being a member of that house, could not defend himself; and that some years afterwards, the opportunity of retort offering in the English parliament, he could not resist it."

Probably, in parliamentary history, there is not a more ignoble instance of resenting a "personal and unfair attack," even supposing the assumed pretext to be a fact undisputed.

The affectation of a *début* for a man who had been a public character for nearly thirty years of his life, would have been ridiculous enough: he had evidently not the remotest notion that his reputation as an orator would be compromised by the shortness of his address, or that any one could harpy on it as his "failure," when no ostentatious display was intended. But the

analysis of that speech, which his detractors eagerly trumpeted as his failure, bears evidence of a clear insight to the novel power about to be created by Mr. Fox.

The coincidence of the principal points of Mr. Flood's speech, with Mr. Pitt's in the commons, and lord Camden's in the lords, may be succinctly adverted to. The attack on chartered rights,—the unconstitutional power placed in irresponsible hands,—the insecurity thereby occasioned to all great corporations,—the incongruity of the seven commissioners,—the creation of a new executive colonial government, independent of the crown, and therefore dangerous to the realm. In so many particulars, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Flood agreed in their opposition; but the latter added the important historical fact, that the measure of 1773 was practically unfavorable to the present scheme of interposition with the company's affairs.*

In the following particulars, there will be found a like coincidence between lord Camden and Mr. Flood. The wrong done the India company, by divesting them of the management of their own affairs,—the violation of private property,—the influence given to any one who chanced to be minister.

* Hansard's debates, vol. for 1783.

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Mr. Flood made allusion to the decemviral power, and the disastrous effects of such an innovation on the Roman constitution; and by parity of reasoning, the novel power of a board of commissioners created by the bill, with unlimited and irresponsible controul, who only required an Appius to render them dangerous. In fact, as sir William Wraxall says, the speech displayed "great ability and good sense," and not intended to exceed a comment *de improviso*.

It is possible it would have been uncensured, had not the spirit of the worst of the Eumenides taken possession of the breast of Mr. Courtney. Mr. Flood's political opponents in Ireland were delighted at this reception from his countryman. Slander winged her rapid flight, and appeared in multiformed shapes in every part of his native land where he had an antagonist.

Such is the abstract pleasure which the herd of mankind have, in removing the wreath of merit from the brow of the illustrious, often from the most pedestrian motives of party, or from an unwillingness to give the meed of praise to those who are not their favorite models of excellence. These, however, never forget to evince an elaborately minute attention to accidental or impromptu speeches; and estimate abilities and services on such slender pretensions: thus being deliberately inattentive to acts and characteristics which form

the basement and ennoblement of genius, while the more fragile ornaments of the superstructure are preserved for sinister detraction.

Mr. Webb, who has been introduced as one of the friends and correspondents of Mr. Flood, was an early contributor to the Irish academy, when in its infancy; he added likewise to the literature of his country, by throwing light on the druidical remains of his fatherland; and whether regarded as a philosopher or friend, he is entitled to far more than the poor encomium of the author of this memoir. One of his last letters extant was written in this year, and may suffice to indicate his judgment and taste.

LETTER FROM DANIEL WEBB, ESQ.

"My Dear Sir,

"You may remember that it was my wish, from the first of our acquaintance, to see you a member of the English parliament: if it was from the recollection of this circumstance that you gave me the friendly notice of my wish being accomplished, I am the more obliged to you for this instance of your attention. I thought the scene of your action too narrow for you, and, though it has been greatly enlarged since that time, yet, the volunteers must pardon me, if I think that even now, the British senate is the first political theatre in the world; and if the first, the fittest for such abilities as yours. You tell me that you are come in on the most unexceptionable form; I had not the least doubt of that, from the moment that I first heard of it: little spirits are made to be instru-

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ments, the superior to employ them. Talents like yours would be disgraced by acting under any other direction than that of the public good and your own honor, two things in name, and but one by their nature. You say you could put a great many questions to me, touching things past; I could put many more to you, concerning those which are to come, and with a certainty of being much better answered: take two or three with this indulgence, that you may answer them or not as it happens to suit you. Can you so temper independence as to stop short of separation? Can you trade, in your present circumstances, without protection? And, are protection and independence reconcilable ideas? Equalization of trade, what a conception! is not the thing itself founded in equality? I should be more explicit to another; you will understand me. What is trade, if successful, but a system, in which the individual outwits, and the government bullies? You want strength for the one, and experience for the other: I will not question the happiness of your disposition for either. Things will mend, and the time will come when you may trick and cozen as well as your neighbours. Apropos! give me your opinion of the following lines; it will be less trouble than to answer such old-fashioned questions: if you approve them, they shall become a part of my little poem on the madness of men, a subject inexhaustible, whether the examples be drawn from the aggregate or the individual. You will judge of the poem as it may deserve, but I will admit of no abatement in the good opinion which I wish you to have of your very affectionate

"And obedient humble servant,

"DANIEL WEBB.

"Let the nations bow down to a senate or king,
With respect for the name, and distaste of the thing;
It matters not much how we vary our plan,
One, many, or few, still the agent is man.

Senate, monarch, and mob, are composed of one clay;
If they're mad who command, are they wise who obey?
Who was he who first brought bitter herbs from the east?
They are nauseous—'That's right, import sweets from the west;'
Is this right?—'Very right, it is well understood,
'That to multiply wants is a national good:
'Mark the progress of things,—traffic, taxes, a fleet,
'Stretch your arms round the globe, till your colonies meet;
'Let your flag, in its pride, to th' antipodes roam,
'Send your thunders abroad,—and stop payment at home;'
The dominion of wealth, a commercial controul,
Founds a greatness of state on a meanness of soul;
Exults in a splendour, which, fatally bright,
Self-destroying, consumes that which gives it its light.
Not such were thy principles, Sparta, thy pride
Was by virtue, no less than in arms, to preside:
Hear, ye statesmen, and blush, when on record ye find,
That the poorest and best were the first of mankind"

A little preceding we related the transaction of the purchase of the borough of Winchester, and that it was concluded in the beginning of October, 1783. A new incident occurred,—the dissolution of parliament, shortly after the rejection of Mr. Fox's India bill. The party now in power never contemplated such a reverse to their antagonists, which entailed a complete overthrow to their political ascendancy, when on the eve of establishing a basis of preponderance, of, almost, ever-during influence. Mr.

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William Pitt had become the star of the ascendant; Mr. Fox had culminated, and gradually declined to his immersion. The duke of Chandos was a supporter and partisan of the former; and, consequently, he exerted his borough interest to accommodate and strengthen the premier, who was in a minority. Mr. Flood, in expressing his opinion on the India bill, declared himself quite independent; and, we think, with a true sense of self-dignity by no means unbecoming in a person like him, who was in every way on equality with the celebrated leader of the British senate. It is easily conceded that the very idea of a purchase implies an acquisition of something unshackled and unrestrained. Hence, we have the motive of the duke for violating his engagement, in favor of his relative, Mr. Gamon; and the motive of Mr. Flood for insisting on his right in equity, to the full extent that an honorable and sensitive mind could adventure.

A portraiture of the duke, drawn from the admissions in his own letters, will aid us in appreciating his grace, and the sequence of his lengthened correspondence.

The character political of the duke of Chandos lay lightly on the surface of events and contingencies; he neither wearied his faculties by sounding the depths of Machiavellian polity, nor idealized amid the schemes of Utopians. No;

he smoothly glided along, like *such* practical politicians, on the unruffled surface of borough interest, in the political value of which he was familiar; preferring this mode to the divings of the Florentine secretary, or the imaginings of classic philosophers.

The mundane shrewdness of his grace, is clearly hinted in this missive:—

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF CHANDOS.

"*Avington*, 10*th October*, 1783.

"Dear Sir,

"Mr. Harmood dined with me yesterday, who told me that he had settled every thing relative to your business with your friend at Winton, and that his deputy will deliver, on Saturday, to Mr. Graham, the instrument wanted. I inclose you a letter I received last night from Mr. James Graham. I think you had better let him wait upon you, unless you will take the trouble of calling upon him at Lincoln's Inn, and talk to him upon the subject. I shall write to him by this post, and desire he will send the instrument down by one of his clerks, as he will be able to swear to the delivery, and prevent the under-sheriff from playing any tricks: it may be attended with some small additional expense, but certainly will put the business on a surety.

"I hope you will not think me impertinent in hinting another matter to you, which may have escaped you, which is a qualification. It will be best to settle that whilst you are in town; for, though they cannot oblige you to specify your qualification before you take your seat, yet I apprehend they may, on election, oblige you to swear to one; but Mr. Graham will inform you of this most minutely, if you think proper to

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consult him upon it. We were very glad to hear that you got safe to town without losing your trunks. In a company of twenty-two, at dinner here yesterday, your health, &c. went round in bumpers of champaign; the company were much disappointed at not seeing you here, but said that of you which would make you blush, could you be ignorant of your meriting the best which can be said of you.

"Another company, I believe not less numerous, will follow the steps of their predecessors yesterday, this day. Since you left Avington, I have been informed lord Sandwich is to resume his seat at the head of the admiralty, in the room of lord Keppel. The duchess always joins me in every good wish, and the whole circle desire their proper compliments. I remain with the greatest truth,

"Dear sir,

"Your very obedient,

"Faithful, humble servant,

"CHANDOS."

Instead of Mr. Flood being re-elected to serve in the new parliament of 1784, a Mr. Gamon, brother-in-law to the duke, was returned.

Mr. Flood naturally felt keenly this. An interchange of letters took place, between the borough proprietor and the late member. The sentiments of Mr. Flood are conveyed in the succeeding letters, which, we apprehend, place the character of the duke of Chandos in a very unfavorable light.

LETTER FROM MR. FLOOD.

"*April*, 15, 1784, *Cleveland Row.*

"Mr. Flood sends his compliments to the duke of Chandos. Late at night, the 13th, he received the honor of his grace's letter of that date, which contains matter so new as to require explanation. On seeing the return for Winchester, when he got to London, Mr. Flood supposed some uncommon change to have taken place; and lest, if he went himself, some awkwardness might arise, he requested an intimate friend to wait on his grace, to express certain grounds of Mr. Flood's surprise. The day after his arrival, namely, the 6th instant, Mr. Flood had the honor of seeing the duke at Cleaveland Row, and, in the respective conversations with his friend and with Mr. Flood, the grounds of fact were admitted by his grace on which Mr. Flood reposes. The duke told Mr. Flood he would do every thing he could to remedy what Mr. Flood complained of. Mr. Flood said that the chiltern hundreds were certainly in his grace's power. His grace said, but without dwelling on it, that there was a difficulty in the people of Winchester. This mentioned, Mr. Flood did not enter fully into the ground, but said, it would be strange if his support of the Winchester address should have hurt him at Winchester, when his very worthy colleague had not been prejudiced by the contrary conduct. That topic being resumed in his grace's letter, Mr. Flood adds, that he knows Winchester enough to respect highly the constituents of it, and not the less for knowing that their attachments are not to be shaken, and that the same persons who recommended him before, could certainly recommend him again with equal effect. In short, Mr. Flood has a conscious knowledge that his own vote at Winchester is not to be shaken by any event, and that he would give it at any time in support of a certain interest, against any pretensions

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of his own, or of any other person: he knows how many others are in the same sentiment.

"On Saturday, the 10th inst., Mr. Flood put on paper, for his grace's recollection, the grounds of fact that had been admitted as before mentioned, thinking it a matter of necessary attention so to do, in a case where both their honors were concerned, and in which, he presumes, it is equally the wish of both that nothing injurious to the feelings of either should happen. He must, therefore, confess his surprise that in the duke's letter of the 13th, after the subject had taken its position for so many days, his grace should refer to the recollection of his law agent, and to a period of time antecedent by a year to those expressions and events which govern the present question.

"It is true that, in the year 1782, the subject of a seat in the British parliament for Mr. Flood (generally, however, and not specifically for Winchester) was brought forward by the duke, for it never originated with Mr. Flood. On the day before Mr. Flood was to leave his grace's house at Avington, for London, the subject was particularly pressed by the duke, and he expressed concern that it had not occurred to him when they were near the Isle of Wight, where a vacancy had just happened: the duke said he would write directly about that vacancy, and send to London after Mr. Flood, if necessary. Mr. Flood went next morning; the duke unexpectedly came after him, and then, at Chandos house, there was a short conversation with his grace's law-agent to this effect: the agent was sent to a person in London, concerning the before-mentioned vacancy, but it was found to be engaged. He was then desired to look out any where else he could for a seat at Mr. Flood's expense. There was no vacancy at Winchester at that time, nor was Winchester mentioned but incidentally, thus. The agent was desired to try whether Mr. Stanhope would accept the chiltern hundreds, on condition of a seat being to be acquired for him at Mr. Flood's expense, as soon as possible; or upon the

means being supplied to Mr. Stanhope himself. If a vacancy in Winchester could be so obtained, the duke declared he would bring in Mr. Flood for that parliament. Mr. Flood admits the declaration went no farther at that time; but was not till a year after that Mr. Gamon's name was mentioned for Winchester at all, as is stated in Mr. Flood's letter of the 10th instant. It is evident that on that occasion Mr. Flood was to have treated with Mr. Stanhope, not with the duke, for the seat at Winchester. Now, that Mr. Flood should agree to be at the expense of another seat in order to vacate Winchester, on the condition of rendering his seat dependant on another, is an idea which confutes itself, and is worthy mentioning, as it manifests a radical misconception, which he presumes will be no longer retained. The sentiment, however, namely, that Mr. Flood would render either his seat or conduct dependant on the approbation or disapprobation of another, is totally inconsistent with his being a free representative, and is a conception which cannot meet with too speedy or too perfect a disavowal. The whole idea of the chiltern hundreds, from beginning to ending, amounted simply to this, that, whenever another seat could be procured, at Mr. Flood's expense, he was ready to vacate Winchester. As to Mr. Stanhope's conduct in not vacating Winchester, as above proposed; certainly, as the proposition then made was to allow Mr. Stanhope to make an advantage of the duke's influence at Winchester, which the duke himself had never made, Mr. Flood thought it would be extraordinary if Mr. Stanhope should refuse such an offer. Mr. Flood's conclusion to the agent was, that an independent seat was his object, and he commissioned the agent to get such a seat for him. So much for the year 1782, which, however, cannot alter what is subsequent, however what is subsequent might affect that.

"As to his grace's assistance in looking now for another seat, with reference that ought to have preceded the omission of Mr. Flood at Winchester; nor could such a search, in his

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grace's present situation, and with Mr. Flood's readiness to accommodate, have miscarried: an uncertainty, rendered now more precarious by delay, is not an equivalent for a certainty, which was the only advantage that Mr. Flood ever sought from Winchester. As to his grace's friendship, Mr. Flood will always respect it as he ought; but in this case, he has only to desire that the duke will adhere to his own declarations. Mr. Flood is duly sensible of his grace's rank; but the duke well knows, that in certain descriptions of men, though of different ranks, their never can be any idea of friendship but on the ground of perfect and equal reciprocity; that his grace's friendship and Mr. Flood's, never had, and never could have, any other foundation. His grace declared (not privately either) that his object was, that Mr. Flood should be in a situation of efficiency, which his grace has not sought for himself: his grace stated Mr. Flood's situation and claims, as high as it was possible for Mr. Flood to wish. Mr. Flood need not, therefore, enter into any estimate of them himself; neither needs Mr. Flood to remind his grace of words used by Mr. Flood at the time of his election, and upon his grace's going into office last Christmas. They were too marked to escape his grace's recollection, and contained the most explicit stipulation of parliamentary liberty.

"The duke, in his letter, admits that both before and after Christmas last, his grace intended to bring Mr. Flood in for Winchester; it is clear, therefore, that then his grace was not engaged to Mr. Gamon. On the 10th of March last, about a fortnight before the dissolution, the duke wrote a friendly letter to Mr. Flood to Ireland, but made no mention of this change of sentiment. Is it just, that, at so late a period, engagements should be taken regardless of Mr. Flood, without communication with him, and without any notice to look elsewhere; or any care on the part of the duke and of his agent to provide a substitute for the seat so to be taken away from Mr. Flood, contrary to his confessedly just and grounded expectations? If

such declarations are of no weight in matters of honorable engagement, what can constitute claim, or establish security? As to any reluctance in the constituents of Winchester, Mr. Flood has already said enough on that part of the subject. As to his grace's having spoken to Mr. Flood after Christmas, about his conduct, he is sure that his grace does not mean to insinuate that he thought himself authorised to animadvert on Mr. Flood's parliamentary conduct; or that his grace did not say that he wished that no decided difference might arise between administration and Mr. Flood, lest it might induce some application to embarrass his grace in his purpose of having Mr. Flood returned for Winchester, in case of a dissolution.

"The promise to Mr. Gamon, as to Winchester, mentioned to Mr. Flood in 1783 by the duke and duchess, was relinquished by them for Mr. Gamon, as soon as mentioned: a place was stated by them as the object for Mr. Gamon, and Mr. Flood was engaged by their graces to assist in obtaining it whenever he could. The duchess repeatedly expressed her wish that Mr. Flood might sit for life for Winchester. Mr. Flood always said he was ready to acquire a seat, without expense to the duke, for any friend of the duke's, or for himself: that it has not been required, lies not on Mr. Flood, but on the agent.

"Mr. Flood's situation was not an object for adventure. The duke has so fully expressed his sense of that, that Mr. Flood will not dwell on it.

"The more that Mr. Flood revolves this subject, the more he is convinced that there cannot be two sentiments, finally, with respect to it, between his grace and Mr. Flood; and, therefore, he is the more desirous to be thus explicit in the matter."

We find the facts herein mentioned confirmed by the testimony of the bearer of this communi-

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cation from Mr. Flood; yet the duke thought it requisite to involve himself in a labyrinth of explanations, the first of which is—

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF CHANDOS.

" *Chandos House, 22d April,* 1784.

" The duke of Chandos makes his compliments to Mr. Flood, and lord Bellamont having done him the honor of delivering Mr. Flood's letter of the 15th to him on the 19th, troubles him with a few lines in answer. As it was the duke's wish to be correct in what he said, he thought it would be equally satisfactory to Mr. Flood, as to himself, to have the relation of the original grounds of recommending Mr. Flood at Winchester stated by a third person who was present. And the duke conceives what then passed to be material, because he never intended to pledge or bind himself to a greater extent than he did at that time. If Mr. Gamon's name was not then mentioned, the duke repeatedly declared that he could not assist Mr. Flood, at Winchester, for a longer period than that parliament, consistent with his own views and engagements towards his own family and connexions. The duke assures Mr. Flood, that he never had the smallest idea that he could have any pretence to controul or animadvert on Mr. Flood's parliamentary conduct: and nothing could be further from his intention than from any expression to give him the least degree of offence, or offer any thing that could be injurious to his feelings.

" The duke cannot help repeating what he said in his former letter; that he never meant to pledge himself to recommend Mr. Flood to Winchester for a longer period than the last parliament; and that even had it been otherwise, the duke could not effectually have recommended Mr. Flood at this time to the city of Winchester: for the consequence would most certainly have been the ruin of his interest there, as most of his friends were determined not to re-elect Mr. Flood. This last

reason alone the duke knows Mr. Flood himself (if he had been upon the spot) would have deemed sufficient, and Mr. Flood may be convinced of the fact, on the slightest inquiry.

"The duke most certainly would have communicated with Mr. Flood, both as to his intentions and the situation of Winchester, had not his very sudden departure for Ireland (which was so much so, that though the duke had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Flood the night before he went, he either did not know of his going the next morning, or did not think it necessary to apprise the duke of it) and the as sudden dissolution of parliament prevented him.

"As soon as the duke did know of the dissolution, he wrote to Mr. Flood.

"In no part of this business hath the duke ever had an idea of want of attention or regard to Mr. Flood; so far from it, he has always been happy in giving him every possible proof of both."

LETTER FROM MR. FLOOD.

"Mr. Flood sends his compliments to the duke of Chandos: in answer to his grace's letter of yesterday, he begs leave to repeat, that, in his conception, the year 1782 has nothing to do with the present question. Winchester was not then in object; nor was there an expectation of a vacancy there, unless it could be found at Mr. Flood's expense. Add to this, that notwithstanding any thing the duke could declare in 1782, yet, on his grace's changing his purpose in 1783 and in 1784, the former declaration must fall to the ground of course. The duke admits that before and after Christmas last, he meant that Mr. Flood should come in for Winchester this parliament, and that he never intimated a change of intention until he wrote to Mr. Flood, in Ireland, a letter dated the 24th of March last. The

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new return for Winchester being dated the 2d of April following, thus the information was of no possible avail.

"Mr. Flood left London suddenly; he staid to the last moment, till he was sent for express, and till he was near being too late for the business to which he was summoned. Before he stepped into his chaise, he wrote to the duke, it being too early to see him: and several days before he had informed his grace that he must soon go for a short time to Ireland; he could not name the day or hour.

"Mr. Flood left London the 5th of March last; the duke might have communicated a change of sentiments by letter, as well as in conversation; but though his grace did write to Mr. Flood on the 10th of March, he never intimated any such change. Mr. Flood cannot doubt the duke's influence at Winchester; neither can he doubt his grace's opportunities to obtain a succedaneum at Mr. Flood's expense; and it is impossible for him to add more for the removal of difficulty or doubt.

"*April* 23, 1784, *Cleveland-row.*"

LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF CHANDOS.

"*Minchenden House, 26th April,* 1784.

"The duke of Chandos makes his compliments to Mr. Flood, and is favored with his letter of the 23d. The duke cannot but regard the transaction of the year 1782 as the basis of every thing which has passed since.

"The duke, in a former letter, admitted that about Christmas, when he imagined a dissolution was likely to happen immediately, he was inclined to recommend Mr. Flood for Winchester, though he never had engaged so to do: and his reason was, that he thought at that time, if Mr. Flood could be accommodated with a seat, he might probably come into office, and that there might, at that moment, be no other means

of his getting a seat; therefore, under that pressing circumstance, he would have trusted to Mr. Flood's giving up his seat at Winchester, as soon as he could have got another seat for himself, rather than he should have risked coming into place.

"Mr. Flood's not coming into office, and the parliament not being dissolved, certainly altered the case.

"The duke has some reason to think, that it was Mr. Flood's opinion, as well as his own, that as the parliament was not dissolved before he went to Ireland in March, that the dissolution would not take place till the summer. This was the reason that the duke did not communicate with Mr. Flood on the subject of Winchester by letter.

"The duke never could think of endeavouring to obtain a perpetuity at Winchester for Mr. Flood, to the prejudice of his own family, or that any of them should be brought into parliament at Mr. Flood's expense. The duke meant to accommodate Mr. Flood for the remainder of the last parliament; but must repeat, that he never looked upon himself as under any engagement relative to a new one: and cannot conceive it possible, that the friendly disposition alluded to above, under very pressing circumstances, can ever be constrained into a new engagement.

"Having said this, the duke begs to repeat what he said in his former letter, that he will be very happy to assist Mr. Flood's wishes, relative to his obtaining a seat to the utmost of his power."

LETTER FROM MR. FLOOD.

"*Tuesday, 27th April,* 1784, *Cleveland Row.*

"Mr. Flood sends his compliments to the duke of Chandos: he hoped his last letter would have finished the explanation

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of this matter, but his grace's answer of yesterday's date requires a word. Mr. Flood has stated the transaction of 1782 exactly according to the fact, and he leaves it to speak for itself. The duke expressed his intention, as well after Christmas as before, that Mr. Flood should come in for Winchester this parliament. Neither was Mr. Flood going or not going into office mentioned as having any thing to say to the matter. This Mr. Flood positively affirms. Mr. Flood is free to say that intentions repeatedly declared in serious matters, and between serious men, embarking persons of a certain description, in concerns of depth and moment, affecting their whole situation, held on to the last moment, and until opportunities are lost that cannot be retrieved; he is free to say, that in his mind, and as he conceives in that of all mankind, such circumstances do constitute a serious ground of obligation to all the feelings of honor. To those feelings in his grace's breast Mr. Flood has confidently appealed, and to those feelings he wishes to give the freest scope.

"His grace, he is sure, will be so good as to remember that Mr. Flood never has wished to occupy Winchester for one moment longer than until another seat was obtained, and that without the smallest expense to the duke."

Lord Bellamont,* who was bearer of the several letters to and from the duke, finding the result likely to be more responsible than he thought it prudent to undertake; yet not wishing to break friendship with Mr. Flood, wrote several evasive excuses for declining any further interpo-

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* A newly created peer.

sition, though he acknowledged Mr. Flood's claim, in equity and honor, on the duke. Sir Lawrence Parsons, actuated by a more elevated mind, and impressed with a more just sense of the simulated conduct of the duke of Chandos, presented the last communication from Mr. Flood.

A MEMORANDUM OF SIR LAWRENCE PARSONS.

"Wednesday, the 19th of May, Mr. Parsons received from Mr. Flood the following letter, with a desire to read it to the duke of Chandos, which Mr. Parsons did the same day :—

"' *Cleveland Row, Wednesday, 19th May,* 1784.

"' My dear Sir,

"' I am sure you do me the justice to feel that no man can more lament the peculiarity of my situation respecting the duke of Chandos than I do, or can be more disposed to accommodate his grace to every wish to rectify it. You know it is not the value of a seat, but superior feelings that actuate me. A necessity to vindicate those feelings in a manner inconsistent with the honor of the duke, I should esteem a very great misfortune; I wish, therefore (as you permit me so to do,) to suppose it may be prevented; and if it should not, I will give, beforehand, every satisfaction to his grace for the liberty I must take, which my life can offer.

"' I am, my dear sir,

"' Your's faithfully and affectionately,

"' Henry Flood."

"' *Sir Lawrence Parsons.*"'

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"For an answer to this the duke referred Mr. Flood to what he had already stated to him, in his letters on the subject of Winchester; and added, that he was still ready to assist Mr. Flood, as far as lay in his power; and expressed a wish that Mr. Flood would wait till the fourteen days after the meeting of parliament were expired, or till the opening of the next session, as some opportunity might occur, in the interim, of obtaining a seat for him. Mr. Parsons asked the duke, if Mr. Flood was satisfied to wait till the opening of the next session, would the duke then return Mr. Flood for Winchester, unless, or until, a seat could be obtained elsewhere? The duke answered in the negative.

"Saturday, the 12th of June, Mr. Parsons took the same letter to the duke of Chandos, with a message indorsed. Mr. Parsons had directions from Mr. Flood to read both to the duke, and, on the duke's desiring personal satisfaction, to appoint the shortest day, as Mr. Flood was obliged to return to Ireland the week following.

"The message indorsed was as follows:—

"'The within letter signified, that, as matters then stood, Mr. Flood, if he were to deliver his sentiments, must declare, that the duke of Chandos had acted DISHONORABLY by him. It is with great pain that he feels this declaration is at length extorted from him.

"'*June* 12*th*, 1784.'"

"To this the duke answered, that he could only repeat what he had already said so often—that he was ready to give Mr. Flood every assistance in his power to procure him a seat in parliament. Mr. Parsons asked the duke, was that the answer he should take back to Mr. Flood? The duke said he could give no other. Mr. Parsons then said, he thought it necessary to inform the duke, as he might have something further to add, that Mr. Flood would be obliged to leave the kingdom in a few days. The duke's answer to this was, that if Mr. Flood would furnish any friend here with powers to conclude for a seat in his absence, he would do what he could to obtain one for him.

"L. Parsons."

"12*th June*, 1784."

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From 1785 to 1790.

Mr. Commissioner Burrowes.—His interesting memoranda about the borough of Seaford.—His anecdotes of Pitt, Erskine, Parsons, and Flood.—Notice of Mr. Burrowes as a public character.—The bill for parliamentary reform again introduced, by Mr. Brownlow and Mr. Flood.—The opponents to the measure.—Mr. Gardiner and major Doyle, compared.—Mr. Toler, and Mr. Mason; their opinions.—Sir William Wraxall's amusing account of the court cabinet, and parties.—The commercial regulations of Mr. Orde.—First introduction; Mr. Flood in a minority of two.—His opinion gains ground.—Opinions of Pitt, Fox, Brownlow, Grattan; the great importance of this debate.—Mr. Flood's resolution.—Correspondence of lord Charlemont.—Mr. Flood in the British parliament.—His speech on the commercial treaty with France.—Opinions of Wilberforce, and Grenville.—Its reference to Ireland.

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It is always a pleasing duty to record the virtues of the good, as well as the efforts of the great; and, at this period of Mr. Flood's biography, we are gratified by the contemplation of a public character who has passed a long life of unspotted integrity.

Mr. Burrowes, when but a young man at the temple, was selected by Mr. Flood, from his brilliant and promising talents, his assiduity in business, and his engaging manners, to canvass for him in the borough of Seaford, at a time when

the two great rivals, Pitt and Fox, sent each a competitor from their respective parties against Flood.—But we shall give the preference to the authentic and interesting narrative of Mr. Burrowes himself, to any imperfect endeavour of ours.

MEMORANDA OF MR. COMMISSIONER BURROWES.

"Finding myself disabled, by my present infirm state, from collecting such documents and materials as would otherwise be within my reach, and as would enable me to give you in detail, all particulars relating to Mr. Flood's connexion with the borough of Seaford, I shall merely confine myself to such circumstances as occurred within my own knowledge, and are still perfectly within my recollection.

"In the year 1784, being then a law student in London, in the last year of my preparation for being called to the Irish bar, the present earl of Rosse, (then sir Lawrence Parsons), introduced to me his friend Mr. Flood, who had been invited and importuned by a large body of men, who claimed to be entitled to vote for the borough of Seaford; and who pressed him to become a candidate, and with his powerful abilities, to advocate and establish rights of which they had been illegally disfranchised.

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"A similar trust had been, it seems, confided to other persons, who, it was suspected, were unduly influenced to betray the cause, and abandon the pursuit. Mr. Flood examined the question, and became of opinion that the borough ought to be opened, and he and my friend, sir Lawrence Parsons, requested, a few weeks before the election, that I would personally go down to Seaford, live amongst the claimants, (who were generally fishermen) until the day of the election, and, as representative of Mr. Flood, superintend and manage the cause. I shortly found that very many of the claimants were anxious to have a candidate for the second seat, and actually pressed me to become that candidate,—a request with which I could not think of complying. It occurred to me, however, that a talented and popular associate would be a highly useful acquisition to Mr. Flood; and knowing that the assizes in East Grinstead were to be held in a few days, where Mr. Erskine (perhaps the most talented and popular advocate then in England) always attended, I conceived the project of tendering to him the same support upon which Mr. Flood was standing, and soliciting his co-operation. I therefore posted to East Grinstead, and at a very early hour on the first day of the assizes, before the court was open, procured access to Mr. Erskine, stated to him the legal grounds upon

which I conceived the petitioners would succeed, under good and prudent management, and requested him to unite with Mr. Flood. He heard all I had stated, and read all such papers as I produced, with great interest: and, after declaring himself to be quite satisfied of the justice of my conditions, said he would at once accept my offer, but that he was so circumstanced, that he ought not and would not take any important step in politics, without the approbation of his friend and patron, Mr. Charles Fox. In proof of his zeal and sincerity, he immediately sent back all his briefs, and repaired to London, to confer with Mr. Fox upon the subject, assuring me, that he would communicate the result to me, by a letter to Seaford, A few days after, I received a letter from Mr. Erskine, communicating his regret that he could not unite with Mr. Flood, not being able to obtain the permission he sought.

"Sir Lawrence Parsons was then prevailed upon to become a candidate, in conjunction with Mr. Flood. I remained at Seaford until the day appointed for holding the election, and attended at the hustings, as representative of Mr. Flood, followed by a mob of claimants, not one of whose votes was admitted; and after struggling ineffectually, equally against the candidates supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, I returned to London,

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finished my term duties, came to Ireland, and was called to the bar in Easter, 1785.

"A petition was lodged against the return, and it was vacated, on the ground, I believe, that no proper and legal notice had been given of the time of holding the election.

"Mr. Flood again became a candidate, and was again defeated. There was a second petition, which succeeded; and Mr. Flood again becoming a candidate, was finally returned, and sat in parliament for Seaford.

"All these proceedings having occurred while I was in Ireland, following my profession, I am unable to give particulars as to state details.

"After my return to Ireland, I lived in strict intimacy,—I might almost say friendship,—with Mr. Flood, until the day of his death; and confess that I indulged the vanity of myself recording to posterity, the history and personal qualities of, perhaps, the ablest man Ireland ever produced,—indisputably, the ablest man of his own times: but the vice of procrastination, which I fear is deeply rooted in my nature, has frustrated my ambitious and anxious wish; by year after year diminishing, while it should have increased, my stock of materials, until it has at length left me equally destitute of necessary details, the means of collecting them, and the power of equably combining and laying them before the public.

"In this state, I cannot but be gratified to find that so near a relative of Mr. Flood, with ample means of obtaining information, and deeply interested in rescuing so great a name from oblivion or misrepresentation, has undertaken the task. I most heartily wish success to your pious labours. Had the condition of my body and mind allowed it, I would have laboured to procure for you more than the anecdote (I cannot well call it by any other name) which I have supplied. It is, however, strongly illustrative of the character of Mr. Flood, and of the opinion entertained of him at the period to which I allude,—namely, that he could not be lulled, intimidated, or deceived; and that, born with powers calculated to lead, he would not—he could not—dwindle into a mere instrument. Examine the public prints of that period, and you will find all (as well those that supported the ministers, as their antagonists) agreeing and vying with each other in traducing, and, as it is called, writing down, Mr. Flood. In many of the prints, speeches are ascribed to him which he never made, and which, from their folly and absurdity, no man well acquainted with him would have, on any evidence, believed to be his."

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It would have been fortunate for the fame of Mr. Flood, had the compilation of the incidents of his life been undertaken by a gentleman so capable of the performance. As a member of parliament, Mr. Burrowes was distinguished for his patriotic endeavours. His eloquence, whether on forensic matters or those of general legislation, displayed a capacious mind, a keen perception of facts, and a skillful adaptation of his powers. To the former, either a close reasoning or a pathetic address,—to the latter, a philantrophy and benevolence in unison with his character.

After presiding for some time at one of the courts of law in Ireland, the octogenerian has now retired from the public scenes of life. But, even now, there remains a vivacity of manner, and a quickness of memory quite remarkable; which, with his handsome phisiognomy and portly figure, leave an impression on his visiters, not very easily obliterated.

Sir William Wraxall has amusingly related the political intrigues and mysteries of the times preceding the dissolution of the late parliament, and has discovered to his readers the devious course a minister had to steer,—how many obstructions and hidden rocks periled his way on the ocean of politics. We find narrated, as historical facts, the efforts of the secret cabals, the double cabinets, the influence behind the

throne, which, for the greater part of half a century, alternately guided and thwarted successive governments. Amid such entanglements, we may wonder how so many and great things were achieved; even though the premature separation of the American provinces was an effluent part of such a system.

Now, however, Mr. William Pitt obtained the confidence of the monarch, and shortly after, that of the nation. He, at once, emancipated himself from such difficulties, and gave a bold distinctness to his political views. In the instructive and interesting volumes we have just noticed, the superior claim to attention he evidently holds, places him next to lord Chatham for probity, and the arrowy directness of his conduct, in the earlier part of his career. But of all the interesting remarks and delineations of character, none is more worthy of reflection than the illusory prophecies,—the complete absence of prescience in some of the brilliant orators and statesmen, who were admired and followed in the senate; the blindness of party resentments, which often restrained the best designs for improvement, merely because they did not emanate from themselves: and these failings are most remarkable among those who imagined they were the more liberal.

Such observations are not irrelevant to this

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biography, and the state affairs of Ireland.—That kingdom being removed from the immediate sphere of the young premier, the only consequence of the change, was the removal of the earl of Northington, who was succeeded by the duke of Rutland. Insular transactions were not less complicated, nor was the public mind dissuaded from reform by the violent debate in the commons, the preceding year; but conversely, more ardour was displayed, and a more pronounced opinion in the utmost parts of the island. Hence Mr. Flood and Mr. Brownlow brought before the commons the measure detailed in the preceding chapter; yet, though no pretext could be found for its instant rejection, it was received with little cordiality by the majority, and with derisive declamations by the crown officials.

Lord John Cavendish and sir Edward Crofton were among the minority of eighty-five who voted for the bill of Mr. Flood and Mr. Brownlow.

The state of Ireland, in political sentiments, cannot be more accurately portrayed than in the words of Mr. Flood, in rising to present the bill,—"When last I did myself the honor of moving the house for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament, it was the pleasure of the house to negative the proposition by anticipation, and to

declare, you would not suffer the bill even to be brought in, but fancied to yourselves 'a dagger of the mind,' which marshaled you the way, to an iniquitous deed against the constitution.

"The subject was sent back to the people, by whom it had been discussed with excess of application. The approbation it met could only be equalled by the ardour with which it was adopted. The more examination it underwent, the more it appeared founded in right, and the unanimous, and the persevering spirit with which it came back to this house, proved it too firmly riveted in the hearts of the people, to be easily erased by an abrupt and unusual mode of refusal. It contained not my sentiments alone, but the sentiments of the nation, declared both publicly and privately, in every capacity. I was therefore anxious to return to this kingdom, that I might be in my place, in order to stand forward in promoting the measure.

"I admit, that it will be thought by some gentlemen injurious to their *private interest*, if the constitution were restored to its original security; but they must also admit, that it is contrary to every principle of right and justice, that individuals should be permitted to send into this house two, four, or six members of parliament, to make a traffic of venal boroughs, as if they were household utensils."

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It seemed a point agreed on in England, that a parliamentary reform was necessary. I shall mention the opinion of lord Chatham, upon whose posthumous fame the present administration* so firmly stands, defended by the nation, (though that great and illustrious man had been for ten years neglected by the public, and so large a portion of his valuable life suffered to be lost to the community,)—"his sentiments on this important matter most strongly enforced its necessity."

In continuation, Mr. Flood drew from analogy the more pressing necessity of infusing fresh vigour into the Irish representation.

On the second reading, Mr. Monck Mason replied to all the arguments urged within and without the doors of parliament. His attachment to the opinions of men of the adverse party, and unlimited influence, rendered his opposition unavailing, among politicians who understood the character of the speaker, as well as the speech itself. Mr. Mason had qualities which gave him precedence of many placemen. His abilities were considerable, his learning abundant and various, his taste in literature the result of a cultivated mind. The political propensities of this person were not quite so flattering. "He is

* Mr. William Pitt's.

not only the friend, but the eager and ready partizan of all ministers, however dissonant their views, or discordant their plans; defending with promptitude the profusion of one, and the parsimony of another; stepping forth to the front of the battle in their defence, and hazarding all attacks in that *sacred* cause with dauntless intrepidity! Such merit is never unrewarded."*

There were other members who objected to this measure of reform, owing to its exclusive provisions, at least so they pretended. Some argued from an instinctive prejudice in favor of borough interest; some from the opacity of their understandings; and some from a conscientious conviction.

The bill proposed was founded on three particulars, by which we must estimate its relative and intrinsic value. The state of property, the state of society, and the existing state of the statuary laws.

The simulation of philantrophy in a few, extended their providence to the erection of a new political power; and the real benevolence of a still smaller number, desired to bestow acts of seeming beneficence, (notwithstanding the jealousy of the constitution,) to the whole catholic population of Ireland. Mr. Luke Gardiner, and major

* Author of the "Principal Characters."

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John Doyle, may be selected to illustrate these doctrines and motives of action. They were diametrically opposed in character, in fortune, and in attainments. Mr. Gardiner represented in parliament the county of Dublin, and was an old and prominent member of the commons. Major Doyle, on the contrary, was known as the nominee of lord Granard, and under such patronage obtained a seat in the legislature of his country. The former, at an early period of his life, advocated the partial repeal of the laws restrictive of the catholics in the disposition of property,—he was the first promoter of this particular object. The latter, was for a promiscuous extension of the elective enfranchisement to both persuasions. The one, offered his sentiments with ability and learning, his speeches always evincing a careful preparation and a courteous deference. The other, harangued "at a venture," in a rude idiom and provincial accent. The correct reasoning, and deep research of Gardiner, commanded the attention of his auditors. The desultory argument, and unmethodized style of Doyle, would have secured him oblivion, but for humorous stories happily introduced, and quaintly told.

"His matter, now to sense, now nonsense leaning,
Means not—but blunders round about a meaning."

Among the class of minor politicians who opposed reform on the present, and on the former occasion, none deserve precedence more than Mr. John Toler, second sergeant. We will essay a portrait, or a few touches of a portrait, of this member, though in some features it is difficult to arrive at a close resemblance.

The art of creeping, and the art of pushing, were equally practised and equally successful in this golden age; to the extent, that men, neither remarkable for their talents, nor for their family pretensions,—"who knew no omens but their patron's cause,"—obtained place, emolument, and even rank. Mr. John Toler is noticed by our austere delineator, "as working his way to the judicial bench,—advancing with the daring confidence of one of a majority. As a placeman and a lawyer, seeking to be a judge, his political conduct is readily known—it is invariably guided by the polar star of the castle!"* Such directness, of course is, albeit, preferable to that meandering line which, like Hogarth's curve, has ample sufficiency of windings, without any marked consistency or determination.

Mr. Brownlow and Mr. Flood were obliged to concede to the ministerial majority, in con-

* Scott, Barrington. Parliamentary debates, passim.

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tradistinction to the general expression of opinion throughout the kingdom.

In the summer and autumn of 1785, the most transcendantly important subject was discussed in parliament, that had engaged it since the introduction of the charter of independency,—the commercial regulations introduced under the auspices of Mr. secretary Orde. We shall view them with the advantage of the sentiments of the four most conspicuous statesmen of both countries. First, however, let us glance at the relative fitness of Britain and Ireland, for a community of trade with reciprocal duties; and how such regulations were received by the persons immediately interested. In England, the merchants and manufacturers coveted the rich and certain harvest of a monopoly; they required it too, after the stagnation occasioned by colonial wars; they felt earnestly therefore, on a system of dubious, and only prospective, advantage to them. England had, besides, a certain influx and efflux of commerce, so unremitting as to entitle her, the emporium of Europe. They believed it their own immediate interest to oppose the first series of commercial regulations. Ireland was conversely situated. Trade was in its infancy; ardour indeed was felt, but speculation was wanting. The merchants and traders had petitioned the legislature for protecting duties; so impotent were

their efforts at competition. Ireland had no certain or permanent trade to any extent; therefore she opposed the commercial regulation from an apprehension, that her puny sources would be lost in the mighty channels of British commerce. To misrepresent the project, a pest of pamphlets troubled the public mind in both kingdoms.

It is curious to contrast the balancing of this question, by the merchant and by the statesmen; the positive and present tenacity of the former, with the refined, more distant, yet not less sure, inductions of the latter.

The commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms proposed by Mr. Pitt, is thus luminously explained by him—

"In a business of such moment, he knew that it was equally unnecessary for him to desire the attention of gentlemen, as to intreat that they would enter into the consideration of the subject without prejudice, and with the earnestness which its political magnitude required.

"There was not a man in the house, of whatever party or description—however attached or connected, who would not agree that the settling of the commercial intercourse of the two countries, on a firm, liberal, and permanent basis, by which an end might for ever be put to jealousies and clamour—by which all future

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pretexts to discontent might be removed, and by which the surest foundations of future strength and opulence might be laid, was one of the greatest topics which could be agitated in parliament, and one of the most desirable objects that they could accomplish.

With regard to this important question, he conceived it to be simply this—What ought to be the principles on which the relative commercial interests of the two kingdoms should be settled, in the system of intercourse to be established between them? In answering this question, he had no difficulty in saying, that the system should be founded on principles of expediency and justice. He should confine himself to general principles in the exposition of the subject this day. The motion with which he should conclude would fully explain the principles. It had a reference to the commercial regulations which had been read at the table, and which the houses of lords and commons of Ireland had declared to be the basis of what they should consider as a proper and effectual system of intercourse.

"It required not philosophy," said Mr. Pitt, "to reconcile us to a competition which would give us a rich customer instead of a poor one. Her prosperity would be a fresh spring to our trade. The stipulation was, the surplus of the hereditary revenue, wherever there should be a

surplus, and this fund, the committee would perceive, was precisely that from which it would be best collected,—proportionate to the degree the Irish should be benefitted by the commercial regulations. * * * * Then it would be found that our strength would grow with the strength of Ireland; and instead of feeling uneasiness or jealousy at the increase of her commerce, we should have reason to rejoice at such a circumstance; because this country would derive an aid for the protection of trade, proportioned to the increase of commerce in Ireland."

The resolution with which Mr. Pitt concluded, was—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important to the general interests of the empire, that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, shall be finally adjusted; and that Ireland shall be admitted to a permanent and irrevocable participation of the commercial advantages of this country, WHEN THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND SHALL PERMANENTLY AND IRREVOCABLY SECURE AN AID out of the surplus of the hereditary revenues of that kingdom, towards defraying the expense of the general commerce of the empire in time of peace."*

Lord North and Mr. Fox not only differed, *in toto cælo*, from Mr. Pitt, but considered the

* Hansard.

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manner the proposition came before the house, derogatory to its dignity. Mr. Fox, emphatically said,—"He would trust every thing to the generosity of Ireland, but not much to her prudence."*

The great leader opposed to the young and magnanimous premier, dissented from his project, and the merchants and manufacturers involved him in the mazes of twenty propositions, which Mr. Fox scattered to the winds, in his famous reply on the 30th of May: he said,—"Compare the twenty propositions on your table with the eleven original ones as introduced to the house; compare his language that day, with the language of to-night; compare the nature of the two strings of propositions, substantially and fundamentally subverted in many parts; in all, materially altered, with those reiterated declarations, 'that not one principle would, on any terms, be meddled with.'

"Who proposed the scheme to Ireland, as a digested system, final and complete, pledging the faith of government that the eleven propositions contained the whole, and that not one of them should be altered?—The honorable gentleman. Who swelled the eleven to eighteen propositions, in a variety of points radically altered and overturned?—The honorable gentleman. Who

* Hansard's debates.

assured the body of British traders and manufacturers that their respective branches should be faithfully secured from every evil? Who denied that assurance after? Who solemnly declared in the face of this house, that the principle of the eleven propositions should be inviolate? Who was it afterwards that openly violated this solemn declaration?" Such was the rebuke the young inexperienced judgment of Mr. Pitt received, on his vacillation between his simple and involved plans. Mr. Fox spoke in the most pointed terms, on the fourth resolution, "which," he said, "would appear to any man living, of common sense, to be virtually to make laws for Ireland, and would be to renovate, rashly and wantonly, the jealousies of the whole Irish nation, upon a point of the most peculiar tenderness and delicacy. In vain were attempts made to assimilate this surrender of the legislative independence of Ireland, with the treaties between two sovereign states."

He concluded his review of the whole question with these remarkable words:—"I would not sacrifice the commerce of England, to destroy the constitution of Ireland; that is not the price I would pay, and that is not the thing I would purchase."

The commercial regulations may, even now, command considerable interest: it is with that

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impression, the writer imagines, the judgment of the reader is more consulted by presenting, condensed, the opinions of the first statesmen of Britain, than his crude and imperfect notions.

We shall follow the sentiments of the parliament of Ireland. The first series comprised, under eleven heads, passed the legislatures from a feeling that the native legislature was "unshorn of its glory" by approbation. The Irish legislature had as many vacillators and sophists as any public assembly; therefore, it was never remarkable for steadiness of purpose; and as the by-views of many must have been of a mixed description, a secretary, with the personal advantages of Mr. Orde, was sure to make a début the most flattering. He carried his first series of propositions, leaving Mr. Flood in a minority of two. They were returned to Ireland with the additions of which Mr. Fox complained in England. Again, Mr. Orde ushered them in with expressions the most conciliatory; for to advance to a committee was the grand desideratum of his diplomatic mission. Mr. Flood opposed this pricipitancy, in the following words:

"Sir, I did not know that this subject would have been forced forward, or, indisposed as I was, I would have come down here, when the motion was first proposed. This subject is of a most important nature, and demands our most serious attention. I beg a pause for consideration with regard to these resolutions. For the reception of them I confess myself not

prepared. It would have been more decorous to have allowed the house some days for their discussion, when a measure of such magnitude, was to be a measure of permanent legislation, and which had been entertained by the right honorable secretary and his coadjutors, for months preceding their introduction to this house. I am equally against an hasty disapprobation, and an hasty approbation. Were I to supplicate you for some little indulgence, on account of my own infirmities, it would be the height of presumption indeed; but I implore you for the sake of the empire at large—for the interests of this nation in particular—for the satisfaction of posterity—for the honor of parliament—nay, for the honor of administration, I desire, I implore a short delay.*

"Every member must know, if ever there was a subject that required a man to be regardless of pride, regardless of health, regardless of his own feelings, it must be this. No member of this house can have less objection to the administration of England, and that of Ireland, than I have: but I have not an implicit faith in any minister.

"I agree with Mr. Pitt, 'that, considering what before had been given, very little, indeed, remains at present to give.' I agree with him, also, 'that it can never be supposed that Ireland, poor as she is, and young in manufacture, can ever rival England, established in trade, and rich in capital;' and I cannot help expressing my surprise at the contrast of the reception of these words of the minister in England, and in this kingdom; in the former, they are understood as a presage of integrity and wisdom; yet, when reiterated in the latter, they are converted to instances of faction or design.

"The infancy of our commerce and manufactures, the poverty of our people, have forced us into a variety of bounties and encouragements, in order to give some stimulus to the languor of the nation. Donations from societies and parlia-

* The secretary pushed his advantage, and the house went into committee on the propositions.

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ment, are applied to this purpose. In a word, every thing respecting manufacture and husbandry, receive some pecuniary encouragement. Duties of protection and preference, necessary to foster the infant commerce of Ireland, of a similar complexion to those enjoyed by the British merchant, were demanded and granted by this house. The right honorable secretary, when he first mentioned the idea of tribute, did it with a trembling diffidence; and mentioned it, not as a *condition* on the part of Britain, but as a presentiment of spontaneous generosity on the part of Ireland. On its first introduction, it was delicately and timorously announced at the *end* of the propositions; now, it is in the *van* of a host, as a peremptory demand and absolute condition!

"To speak at present to the third resolution. What does it except? Not less than all the countries between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straights of Magellan; in the least exaggerated estimate, a fourth of the terraqueous globe, above what Britain has any title of prescriptive or conquestorial right. We hear with surprise of a Roman pontiff giving this hemisphere to one prince, and that hemisphere to another prince; yet here we have half a hemisphere cut off in a parenthesis; and that in a resolution purporting to extend the commerce of Ireland!

"As to foreign trade, one word dispatches that,—independence. Independent Ireland has every right of foreign trade which Britain possesses; for this, therefore, she had no compact to make; this had been adjusted in 1780, for the English parliament declared in that year, by resolution, 'that the unshaken loyalty of Ireland entitled her to a participation in colonial trade with like advantages.' In equity and good faith, what have we to ask that this did not give? Britain boasted of the liberality of the transaction, and Ireland illuminated!"

These sentences present but an epitome of his extended purview of the statutory history of

Ireland, as connected with the proposed commercial regulations.

To enter more minutely, in memoirs which do not pretend to give Mr. Flood's speeches, but merely particular passages in this very interesting debate, would be impertinent to the design. Yet there was no national question that he examined with more critical acumen, and followed to its relinquishment with more pertinacity. He opposed Mr. Orde from the commencement, and was left in a minority of *two ;* as the propositions became better understood, they appeared less favorable and auspicious, even to the parliament; but when they were again brought forward, with an enumeration much increased and involved, the national feeling flushed with indignation. Instead of Mr. Flood being in a minority of two, he divided with a support of one hundred and ten. Disapprobation was not limited to the strong minority in parliament: the nation denounced the scheme as insidious, and what Fox and Flood early pointed out to be an infringement on the legislative capacity of the commons of Ireland, received a fresh and glowing colouring from Grattan.

From the moment Mr. Pitt became premier, he forgot reform in England, and opposed it in Ireland. In regard to the latter country, the motive readily presents itself,—the house of

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commons would be less manageable. Is the motive more difficult to be evolved on the commercial treaty?—We imagine not. He would be less embarrassed in negotiations on trade with foreign states, and the parliament would, by their acceptance, relinquish external legislation.

Mr. Pitt had already an amenable body in the parliament of Ireland, whose names we forbear to mention, though in all ages and countries there are some recorded who gloried in successful delinquency.

We have given the resolution with which Mr. Pitt concluded his introductory address to the commons of England. Mr. Flood ridiculed the idea of "a perpetual and irrevocable law," and "a perpetual and irrevocable tax," which the casual transactions of a few years would be sufficient to demonstrate the futility. The vanity, too, of any man wording a condition, "perpetual and irrevocable," but more particularly in reference to a surplus revenue that had no existence, but was eventual on the state of commerce. Then, turning from what was conditional in the proposition of Mr. Pitt, he fixed on what was positive in the condition of trade and manufactures in Ireland, and the inalienable rights of the constitution. He conducted the mind through the intricacies of statutes, and less oratorical portions of history, and rested on the

commercial concession of Charles the second, after the restoration, by which a free trade was clearly conveyed, and the right was only renovated in 1789. Then, by a simple process of induction, and self-evident interrogatories, he convinced the understanding how inapplicable they were as a boon, and how unnecessary as a means of closer federation, between the kingdoms.

It was from Mr. Flood's unwearied application to such subjects, that furnished a distinguished lawyer with the observation,—"That it was not by a single instance that he could characterise him; he was a debater of every night, bringing to the contest erudition and diligence, to aid character and eloquence."*

Mr. Flood considered it necessary to assert the dignity of the constitution by the following resolution:—"That we hold ourselves bound not to enter into any engagement to give up the sole and exclusive right of the parliament of Ireland to legislate for Ireland, in all cases whatsoever, as well externally as commercially and internally." It was on this remarkable occasion, that eccentric genius, Curran, exclaimed,—"The siege that was round the constitution is raised!—the enemy is gone! We

* Phillips.

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may go abroad and trace the dangers we have escaped. Nor let us forget, in our exultation, to whom we are indebted for our deliverance." To Mr. Flood he said, "Here all the wisdom of the state is collected, exploring your weakness and your strength, detecting every ambuscade, and pointing to the hidden battery that was brought to bear on the shrine of freedom."

Mr. Orde relinquished his commercial regulations, and the city of Dublin illuminated.

Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Conolly, were eminently distinguished on this occasion, as they were on every subject of national interest. Filial duty has been careful to preserve the speeches of Grattan; there we may turn for the brilliant antithesis, the daring metaphor, and the exciting thought; but he was rather an orator on particular stages of the measure, than a debater of each successive proposition.

Imitative writers, even of eminence, have followed each other in a by-path to a conclusion without premises: at most, a mere assertion or postulate, that the minority in parliament were erroneous in rejecting such a scheme of marine legislation. Yet, if Britain proffered to her sister the treasures of the east and the west, it was at a time of feebleness and inability, when she had neither capital to engage, hands to secure, nor strength to execute.

We shall now resume the correspondence of the amiable earl of Charlemont. It is like turning to a rich and goodly prospect, which at once delights the imagination and gratifies the heart. The first letter in continuation, and which immediately alludes to Mr. Flood's consistent conduct throughout the foregoing debate, and to his consummate disquisition on "the doctrine of attachments," one of the most important considerations, in regard to the liberty of the subject.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"Do not be afraid, my dearest Flood, nor do me the injustice to harbour the least doubt of my being capable of preferring any country whatsoever to that which you inhabit. As long as the younger sister can boast of such children as you, and one or two more, selected out of her numerous offspring, there is no sort of chance, that the elder should ever prevail over her in my affectionate and dutiful regard; and though I may like well enough, to pass some of my time with my rich and magnificent aunt, yet I shall ever esteem my poor mother's humble cottage as my real home, and as the maternal hearth to which both my duty and my inclination will ever recal me.

"How very unlucky I have been in not arriving in time to find you in town; and how much more so do I account myself, in not having it in my power to indulge my inclinations by accepting of your kind invitation, and by following you to the country! But the truth is, that though I am now tolerably well, my health is still in so precarious a state, as to oblige me to a perpetual continuation of sea-bathing, the only sure preservative against that cursed complaint which has so horribly tormented me, and the dread of which still continues to alarm

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me. Were it not for this important consideration, though I never had any thoughts of going to Killarney, I should certainly see you in the county of Kilkenny; for, indeed, I can by no means content myself with constantly hearing of you, though the universal applause of your autumn's achievements, which is from all sides echoed to me, might certainly be sufficient to satisfy a friendship less selfish than I confess mine to be. Is there no chance of business calling you to town? Indeed, I long to see you; nor is it possible that I should be satisfied with this distant method of assuring you that I am, with the strictest truth and sincerity, my dearest Flood,

"Your most faithful friend,

"and affectionate humble servant,

"CHARLEMONT.

"*Marino*, 11*th July*, 1786.

"My best respects to lady Frances, and my affectionate compliments to Langrishe."

The efforts of Pitt and Fox to exclude Flood from parliament, in England, Mr. Burrowes has shown us, were unavailing. He was returned for Seaford; and time pressed him to proceed to London, to take his part in the debate on the commercial treaty with France; in which negotiation, a vigilant guardian of Irish trade was required.

Mr. Pitt and his party quickly perceived the advantage of a union, either by a commercial code and treaties with foreign states, (including Ireland, though not expressly named), or an

open assault on the legislature. The former, was quite within the scope of political circumvention; the latter, required time and a gradual sapping beneath the firm foundation of the constitution. To these projects the noble correspondent refers.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin*, 12*th Nov.* 1786.

"My dear Flood,

"The renewal of a correspondence which has been too long interrupted, is much too precious to allow me to leave your letter for a moment unanswered; and I therefore sit down to write a few lines, in spite of a distressful and alarming weakness in my eyes, which renders the smallest exertion difficult and painful to me. I heard of your being in Dublin, and immediately inquired where you were to be found. The fruit of my inquiries was, to be informed that you had sailed. One would imagine that you were under the jurisdiction of Shakspeare's witches—

"Come like shadows, so depart."

"The English papers have lately been infested with the idea of a union; but, except from them, I know nothing of it: neither can I suppose it possible that any such notion can have entered the heads even of our present administration. When we had no constitution, the idea was scarcely admissible: what then must it be now? I hope and believe, however, that it is merely the inflammatory lie of the day, grounded perhaps upon certain late British Peerages. At all events, the attempt would tend only to disgrace the movers, and to raise a flame in the country.

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"As to the commercial treaty, it is difficult to say any thing, as its real contents have not, I believe, transpired. I have, however, generally talked about it to some mercantile people. Opinions seem divided: some few think it possible that we might send our linens with advantage to France; but I will mention my fears, and those of many others. If we should send any linen, which I think doubtful, it could only be of the superfine, the least essential article of the trade; and if French cambrics were to be poured in upon us, that profitable branch of manufacture would be annihilated. But the great danger I take to be, that if the French be favored in the article of linens, other nations (the Prussian dominions, for example, and other parts of Germany, who have all of them treaties with England, under the terms of 'the most favored nation,') might lay claim to the same immunities, which would be not only dangerous, but, I should fear, fatal to our staple and only real commerce. Whether you will be able to understand my meaning, I know not; but I send these ideas, crude as they are, to one who is, I am convinced, an unalterable friend to the constitution and commerce of Ireland, and whose abilities are equal to his wish to serve his native country.

"Adieu, my dear Flood;—my eyes will not suffer me to do more than to assure you that I am

"Your most faithful,

"And affectionate humble servant,

"CHARLEMONT.

"I wish to heaven you would give us something better for the support of our infant academy, than your money!"

Before passing to the commercial treaty with France, in the discussion of which Mr. Flood

took so remarkable a part, the reader is requested to extend his indulgence, and forgive an anachronism, occasioned by the introduction of some interesting letters, which were only obtained when the greater portion of this work was in the press.

LETTERS FROM THE MSS. IN THE CAULFIELD LIBRARY.

The traits of character of the late earl of Charlemont assimilate, in many instances, to those traced with the golden pen of eloquence of a modern biographer.*

The amiable earl was the "*patriæ pater.*" Besides, he had the Florentine's taste for virtù; his taste for the poets; and his preference for freedom, instead of tyranny in any form. On leaving the Caulfield library, all these ideas possess your mind at once. Of any private collection, it is the most extensive and best selected in Ireland: every arrangement gives the visiter an impression of the earl's inclination to magnificence.—Statues, busts, antiques, appropriately placed, amidst the literary lore of Greece, Rome, and modern Europe.

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* Roscoe's life of Lorenzo de Medici.

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Secret history of the defeat of the "militia bill," which Mr. Flood propounded for Ireland, in 1766 :—

"My Dearest dear Lord,

"I find it in vain to attempt any expression of the infinite pleasure I receive from your admirable letters; they satisfy in every thing but one—in that particular they render me more dissatisfied—that you, who speak so inimitably of others, will not speak for yourself.

"I waited for the fate of my militia bill before I acknowledged your last. It was finally determined yesterday: the whole power of government was set against it, merely because I was the proposer of it. Monday last, when I was to make my report, Gisborne, in an elaborate argument, controverted the whole bill, and moved that the report stand postponed to the first of July. Lord Beauchamp (strange?) seconded the motion. I endeavoured to confute what they had said, our friend Langrishe supported me. Neville Jones spoke sensibly in my favor, which you will wonder at. The trumpet of the house turned; and the attorney general, who is offended, joined against the postponement in favor of recommittal. Gisborne, Beauchamp and Hutchinson were obliged to retract.

"Yesterday having moved heaven and earth to get, and keep people away, and after having amused weak men with promises of a militia bill *next* session of parliament, they (government,) got sir Archibald Achison to move, 'that Mr. Carew,' who had taken the chair for me, 'should leave it.' We had a long debate, and Hutchinson and your humble servant had another pitched battle. On whatever side argument was, numbers went lamentably against us.

"One awkward circumstance happened in the debate. I had received a letter about a week before, from the Genius of

HAYES,* in which he repeated his favorable sentiments for militia in this country! I mentioned this to two or three friends in confidence; Beauchamp heard of it; he supposed, I presume, that I would make use of this, (which was very absurd,) and prepared a little harangue, which obliged me to call on him for an explanation. On this he allowed he had no foundation, and retracted. Was it intended to make a malicious use, or was it mere absurdity?

"Forgive my hurry, and the very ill amends I make you for your invaluable correspondence, and believe me to be, with the most heartfelt sincerity,

"My dear lord,

"Your very affectionate and obedient,

"HENRY FLOOD."

"*March* 27, 1766."

Reply to Lord Charlemont's proposal to accompany him to London, to consult on Irish politics; with an allusion to some anonymous letters which were directed against Mr. Flood:—

"MY DEAREST LORD,

"You set me on fire. I would that I could accompany you! I know nothing in the world that would be so pleasing to me, and nothing that is so impracticable. I am glad that you go to shake hands with your friends, though their Irish politics and ours are so repugnant. I sent inclosed a paper last night, without examining it—I see now, that it is incautious, and wish it burned. Mr. Knapp† writes to your lordship an

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* Lord Chatham. † A confidential clerk.

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authentic account, which I entreat your lordship to make use of in England.

"The marquess of Rockingham, the dukes of Bedford and Portland, lords Clare, and Shelburne, Rigby, Cust the speaker; lords Bristol, Hillsborough, and Chatham, had the anonymous letter. I beg that you will devise the best means of justifying me that occurs, and that can be followed with convenience. It is of the last moment to,

"My dearest, dear lord,

"your ever affectionate,

"HENRY FLOOD."

"*March* 26, 1769."

Account of two duels between lord Townsend and lord Ancram—sir John Blaquiere and Mr. Bagenall:—

"MY DEAREST LORD,

"YOUR letter to-day has given me infinite pain. I hope, however, it is your solicitude for our valuable friend, rather than his danger, that awakens your apprehensions. I entreat you will remember me to him, as one who takes the most real part in what concerns him, and feels the most anxious wishes for his safety. His honor needs no guardian; and yet, since there is to be a narrative, I think it right and manly in lord Ancram to put his name to it.

"The world is the tribunal of honor: and our friend may appeal to it with security.

"I am glad, for the sake of soldiership, that lord Townshend has acted properly. Would that he had been as meritorious, without being so successful a combatant!

"You will have heard before this of a duel here between secretary Blaquiere and Mr. Bagenall, in which both behaved very bravely, the former even with a peculiar gallantry, as the account goes.

"I have not been in the same, but almost equal dangers, by becoming a huntsman, and have got a wound without any honor to console me for it! However, it does not signify, and I dismiss my bandage to-morrow, and return to the chase again. I beg to hear from you, and that you will remember me particularly to lord Ancram.

"My dearest, dear lord,

"ever your's,

"HENRY FLOOD."

"*February* 5, 1773."

The mind of the reader will readily recur to some verses, composed by lord Charlemont, in one of his letters, in 1775, conveying advice and eulogy on the political conduct of his friend. We have, in the following, an acknowledgment and some brief observations, explanatory of his new position with regard to administration.

LETTER FROM MR. FLOOD.

"MY EVER DEAR LORD,

"A thousand thanks for your excellent lines; I wish them a better theme, however.

"Your last letter, was not necessary to make your ideas known to me upon another subject, with respect to which, I will write with that frankness that becomes us both. I

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told you my present situation exactly.—I had nothing to add on it. I hoped you could have told me something of other persons, particularly *one* about whom I wrote to you from England. Without union nothing can be done; and union is not to be obtained merely by wishing it, or by its being right. Human means must be taken. 'The gods take care of Cato,' sounds well, but it ended very ill. Rectitude, without activity and practical wisdom, or policy on the means, will, in the end, almost always fail. Here has been the cause of every thing that has gone wrong; and I fear the cause does not diminish.

"A declaration such as your lordship alludes to, unless made by a sufficient number, is unwise. As the world goes, it lessens the influence of those who make it; and made by a individual without reference to a particular object, it implies a condition and engagement, as incompatible with fame as with interest. It would be said to be a bartering of a possible change in a man's sentiments as to what would be best for the public, and the selling of the freedom of a man's mind, for that which an inconsiderable sum could purchase.

"You have not seen it in this light, I well know; possibly you never may: but it is evidently so to me.

"I would to God you could pay us a visit here: you can spare time now better than ever. I could then enter minutely into the state of men, which is the first thing to be considered upon the head of practicability—no small point in public measures.

"I am, my dearest lord,

"Yours, ever unalterably,

"HENRY FLOOD."

"*June 8th*, 1775."

When men of high rank and character are engaged in matters that immediately regard their

good or evil report, there is a sensitive delicacy in the stipulations, no less than a dignified secrecy, which must tenaciously be observed; otherwise embarrassment ensues, which may mar arrangements beneficial to the public. Next, there was an invidiousness that Dr. Leland noticed as common among Irish statesmen; caution, then, on Mr. Flood's part, was indispensable. We perceive all this, even without Leland's testimony, in the disunion and want of harmony of public men. The political aphorisms, those only, who have known and acted with a variety of politicians can fairly judge.

During the recess of the autumn of 1775, Mr. Flood and lord Charlemont renewed their correspondence on literary matters; a sort of relaxation he enjoyed at such intervals.

His notion as to blank verse, will be better appreciated by the poet.

"My ever dear Lord,

"You have convinced me that even lyric poetry would be better in blank verse: at least I see there is something in the turn of the ancients, that rhyme cannot give—a certain grace, and, like all grace, it lies in *motion*. Now, rhyme constrains the poet in the movement of his numbers, as for so much, is destructive of grace. The motions of a child, tolerably made, are more graceful than those of the best dancing master.

"I am afraid rhyme is a dancing master! and with that

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smart observation, I will make my bow; and assure you I am, not merely in the conclusion of a letter,

"My dear Lord, your's ever, &c.

"*August* 16*th*, 1775. "HENRY FLOOD.

"You are answerable for my sin!

TO QUINTUS HIRPINUS.

HORACE B. II. ODE 11.

What the Cantabrian fierce, or Scyth,
(Severed by Adria's gulph opposed,)
Revolve,—cease, Quintus, to inquire;
Nor tremulous, toil about a life
That seeks but little. Comeliness,
And sleek youth fly; and sapless age
The wanton loves and easy sleep
Dismisseth. On the vernal flower
The same bloom sits not always; nor
Fix'd to one aspect shines the moon,
All ruddy. Wherefore then fatigue
With endless thoughts the unequal mind?

Why not beneath this plantane tall,
Or pine thus idly laid, with rose
Our grey locks scented, whilst we may
Carouse, we with Assyrian nard
Anointed? Say, what nimbler youth
Shall in the cool stream passing by,
Our cups of hot Falernian slake?
Who the sequester'd* wanton lure,
Lyde from home? Go, bid her haste;
In Spartan guise, with artless knot,
Her hair; and with her ivory lyre.

* The unpoetic genius of a commentator on the MS. corrected the expression to "*wayward*," we fancy, by no means an emendation; probably, for the alliteration, for a "*wayward wanton*" is a scarce animal enough. "Sequester'd," as used by Mr. Flood, is quite analogous to the sense, and quite poetical, as we find it in Milton, Pope, and Shakspeare.

Here follows a very elegant short missive from Mr. Flood, remarkable for delicacy of compliment, and energy of thought, which has a sybilline value, derived from its conciseness; it touches,—but merely touches,—the popery laws; and it would be well for the posthumous fame of other statesmen, had equal caution and penetration marked their acts.

"My ever dearest Lord,

"A thousand thanks for your kind letter. The weakness of your eyes proved the strength of your friendship; you have an happier art than that of Midas,—you touch every thing into VIRTUE.

"I agree with your lordship, that we are too apt to run mad on all subjects, and on that of liberality or the very name of it, above all others. I wish we could borrow some of the *politic* virtues from our sister England, and I think we could lend her some of the *liberal* ones.

"I am frightened about the popery business. It ought to be touched only by a master-hand. It is a chord of such wonderful potency, that I dread the sound of it, and believe with you, that the harmony would be better, if, like that of the spheres, it were, at least for a time, inaudible.

"This county, you know, is not the soil of patriotism. All I hoped for here, was to be tolerated. To my surprise, the Kilkenny volunteers have broken the enchantment, and their first accents have been those of liberty. Who knows how we may improve?

"Lady Frances joins me in every compliment and respect to lady Charlemont, and all the felicitations of the season.

"My ever dearest lord,

"Yours unalterably, &c. &c.

"*January*, 1782. "HENRY FLOOD."

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Mr. Edmond Malone, the writer of the following letter, deserves a more extended notice than the prefatory observations to a letter. He was the literary friend and correspondent of lord Charlemont; he was the undeviating friend and anonymous defender of many acts in Flood's political career. With the noble earl his histrionic taste and judgment were appreciated and confided in. His mind pervaded the whole scope of dramatic literature, not confined by our language, but embracing the most approved authors of France and Italy. Lord Charlemont often took advantage of so valuable a friend to increase his collection of books; his letters, therefore, are almost altogether literary, and the lighter and more agreeable efforts of criticism. The subsequent communication is not strictly of the above character, as he enters into a lengthened commentary on Mr. Flood's speech on the celebrated law of lord deputy Poynings, and his resignation of the vice-treasurership.

Mr. Malone moved in the first circles, and took upon him a very delicate mission from Mr. Flood to the duke of Chandos.

LETTER FROM MR. EDMOND MALONE.

"*London*, 1782.

"My Dear Lord,

"You say you will not trouble me with politics, as I am not much addicted to that science. I was once deeply

engaged by it; but a most unfortunate attachment, which never could have redounded much to my honor, and has ended most unhappily, has estranged me from that and almost every thing else except a few friends, the recollection of whom is one of the last sentiments that I shall part with.

"I endeavour to employ my thoughts with books and writing, and when I am weary of them, fly into company, and when disgusted with that, return back to the other. But all will not do: there is little chance in getting over an attachment that has continued with unabated force for thirteen years, nor at my time of life is the heart very easily captivated with a new object.

"You see how frankly I confess my weakness to you; but if I am not much mistaken, you will make some allowance for the extravagance of this sort of sensation, which is allied, however remotely, to some of the best feelings of the heart. I am a very domestic kind of animal, and not at all adapted for solitude.

"Notwithstanding what I have said, I was, I assure you, not a little pleased to hear of the noble part that our friend Flood has acted. W. Jephson and I, in a paper that we wrote, I believe seven years ago in his defence, on his accepting an office, predicted that he would do exactly what he has done. It was a long essay in the Freeman, but I have forgot the signature and have no copy. I wish he had thrown up two years ago, he would still have appeared more brilliant; however, his fame, as it is, will be immortal.

"I see all the lawyers have differed with him about the construction of Poyning's law. When I saw the account of such men as Crookshank, Fitzgibbon, &c. browbeating him and setting him right, I could not help thinking of 'girls with spits and boys with stones waging puny war' with Coriolanus!

"I have, for my own part, no doubt of his interpretation being right, and I hope this opposition will rouse him to do what I have long urged him to do—I mean, to arrange all the curious matter that he has collected on that subject and to

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publish it. After his three hour's speech about ten year's ago upon it, I endeavoured when I went home, to put as much of it on paper as I could recollect, and I have still the copy by me. If, therefore, he does not do what I have suggested, his admirable argument will go down to posterity in a sad corrupted and imperfect state. I hope you will urge him to it. It surely is a NATIONAL CAUSE, and will do him the highest honor.

"Believe me, my dear lord,

"Most affectionately yours,

"ED. MALONE."

The idea of "girls with spits and boys with stones waging puny war on Coriolanus," is happily descriptive of some of the belligerents. It is unfortunately true, that Mr. Flood neglected to publish his famous dissertation on the perverted law, and no correct copy of that speech has yet come to the hands of his biographer; for true it is, that all memorial of Mr. Flood is in "a sad, corrupted, and imperfect state."

"Beneath we have lord Charlemont as busy with his volunteer army, as if Cæsar and the tenth legion had engaged his morning studies. Considering the noble general's delicate frame, he certainly made some attempts at Roman celerity.

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin 26th June*, 1787.

"My Dearest Flood,

"As you have flattered me with the hope of meeting you in the north, I delayed writing till I could be able with some degree of precision to give an account of the manner in which my northern progress is to be conducted. On the 9th of July I shall be at Bellewstown hill, but shall return from thence to Dublin; shall set out again on the 15th, shall be at Newry on the 16th, and the 17th at Belfast, where the reviews last three days: on the 25th I shall be at Derry, and shall remain there two or three days: from thence to sir Annesley Stewart's, in the county of Donegal, from whence, after a short visit, I shall proceed to the county of Armagh, where I have many visits to pay, which will fill up the time till the Newry review on the 20th of August; which being concluded, I shall return to Dublin. And so finishes my campaign, prosperously I hope, but still more so, if I should have the pleasure of meeting you at any or all the places I have mentioned. No news stirring. My letters from England assure me that there is an implacable animosity and violent quarrel between lord Sandwich and lord G. Germaine.

"I have lately been much out of order with a weakness in my stomach, which still continues troublesome.

"Believe me ever, my dearest Flood,

"Your faithfully and truly affectionate,

"Charlemont."

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin, 27th July*, 1787.

"My dearest Flood,

"If Griffith* still be with you, return him my most sincere thanks for the information he sent me of your recovery, for which I am the more obliged to him, as, by his alacrity in performing that duty of friendship, he evidently testified the kind justice of his opinion, that every thing which concerns you must at all times most intimately interest me. I received his letter during the hurry of reviews, and had not then a moment's leisure to thank him for it, and I now chuse rather to write to you than to him, in hopes that your health may be sufficiently confirmed to allow you to send me a single line, which may vouch its confirmation; but if writing should still be inconvenient to you, at all events let him add to the obligations already conferred by another line of comfort, assuring him that his last letter was not only in the highest degree a consolation to me, but was honored by the joy of armies! Farewell, my dearest Flood; believe me ever, with truth and sincerity,

"Your most faithful,

"and truly affectionate,

"Charlemont."

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* Mr. Richard Griffith, one of the ablest men in the Irish commons of 1785. "He has ever been one of the foremost in supporting every scheme of public utility or national improvement; earnest and strenuous in the defence of constitutional freedom, and seldom favored ministers with his countenance or vote."

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Marino, 2d August*, 1787.

"My Dearest Flood,

"A letter written by your own hand must necessarily have afforded me the most sensible pleasure, since I look upon it as a proof of your recovery; than which, besides the private considerations of friendship, nothing can be more desirable to me, whose ruling passion is, I trust, the love of my country, and of its honor. The body of the volunteer army is undoubtedly diminished, though the north still keeps up a very respectable peace establishment. I this year reviewed at Belfast, notwithstanding the horrid weather, above eighteen hundred men, near one thousand at Broughshane, and full eight hundred at Downpatrick. Their appointments and discipline are as good as ever, a certain sign that their spirit is unaltered, and indeed I believe it is unalterable.

"The Royal Irish Academy is at present adjourned for the summer season, to meet again in October, at which time, or possibly sooner, we shall give the world a specimen of our labours, which will not, I hope, upon the whole displease you; nay, I will venture to flatter myself, that it will so far meet your approbation, as to induce you to render our second volume still more valuable. Indeed we expect it from you, not only as a man of letters, but as a patriot. As you will discover among the essays a trifle, *de ma façon*, I find myself inclined to make my excuse for it beforehand, assuring you that I produced and suffered it to be inserted, though conscious of its total want of merit, merely *pour encourager les autres*.

"The ladies desire their best good wishes and congratulations upon your recovery, joining with me in the most sincere

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respects to lady Frances. Adieu, my dearest Flood: believe me ever unalterably,

"Your most faithful and truly affectionate,

"CHARLEMONT."

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Marino*, 15*th Sept.* 1787.

"MY DEAREST FLOOD,

"I did, it is true, forget to mention in my last letter the discovery which has been made with regard to Ossian, which however is not, I believe, of that importance which you seem to suppose. Doctor Young, one of the most ingenious, learned, and amiable men now existing, in a tour to the North of Scotland, and to the Hebrides, obtained in manuscript several Erse ballads, of which he has given a literal translation: from parts of these ballads it is clear that M'Pherson has taken many passages in his poem, though so strangely altered, and bedaubed with ornament, so swollen with bombast and disfigured by figures, that their simple origin is barely cognizable. One circumstance is, however, whimsical and curious, that wherever Ireland is mentioned, as it frequently is, the Caledonian has taken care to put Scotland in its place. These translations, with a short dissertation, in which not a word is said against the Pseudo-Ossian, will be published in our transactions; and indeed, though their antiquity be certainly not very remote, you will, I think, find them both curious and amusing, as well from the simple poetic beauties of some, as from the oddity and whimsicality of others.

"With regard to my paper, your friendly affection will be totally disappointed. It is, thank fate, far below criticism; and when you perceive how extremely trifling it is, you will do me the justice to believe that I suffered it to be inserted merely

with the view of encouraging my diffident brethren; and I have the satisfaction to think that it has had the desired effect.

"The man who can speak like you can always write; but, even though I had the assurance and folly, which indeed I have not, to think myself a writer, alas! the *vice versa* is not true.

"All our compliments to lady Frances, and believe me ever unalterably,

"Your most faithful,

"and truly affectionate,

"CHARLEMONT."

A letter from the poet Jerningham, the literary friend of Malone, Charlemont, and Flood, cannot be omitted, however imperfect our acquaintance with the extent of Mr. Flood's classical pursuits; yet this note, with the allusions scattered throughout lord Charlemont's correspondence, convey a clear notion as to his taste:—

LETTER FROM MR. E. JERNINGHAM.

"*Conduit-street, Jan.* 27.

"SIR,

"I take the liberty of presenting you my best regards, and of begging the favor of your acceptance of my poem. The *poetæ minores* at Rome were ambitious of reading their verses to the most celebrated orators: it is the same kind of ambition that prompts me to trouble you with mine. I should be happy in renewing our theatrical conversation at the playhouse, where I recollect having the honor of frequently meeting you last year.

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"I wish you was here, particularly now, that you might enjoy the singular entertainment of a French gentleman, Monsieur Tesier, affords in his reading a play. Nothing can give an idea of his excellence, but the imagining a troop of comedians equally perfect. The last time I saw him perform, Mr. Garrick was present, who owned he had exceeded his expectation. He read a *comedie harmoiante,* in which he had frequent opportunity of displaying both his tragic and comic powers.

"I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"EDWARD JERNINGHAM."

We owe to the oratorical fame of Mr. Flood in the British parliament, a particular notice of his long and learned speech on the commercial treaty with France.

He went over prepared for this subject, and had he failed to make a display equal, if not superior, to any member who spoke on that occasion, his opponents would have had fair grounds for depreciating him as a statesman.

A short analysis of this speech, we trust, will be pardoned by the reader.

Mr. Flood spoke in reply to Mr. Pitt, on the wide extending consequences of such a treaty—that, if the reasoning of the merchants and manufacturers had weight and preponderance in regard to Ireland, on the commercial propositions, how much more forcibly would it apply to such a

rival as France on the present question. To apply this argument, he reviewed the existing state of the three kingdoms, showing clearly, it was always hitherto the policy of Britain to oppose such concessions, and always the policy of France to obtain them. The anomalous position of Ireland and France by this projected treaty, and inferentially the want of consistency in the policy of Mr. Pitt on this question. Tracing with precision international transactions by treaties in any degree referable to commerce; and closing the whole with an emphatic answer to Mr. Grenville.

We prefer giving the observations of a gentleman* of distinguished character in literary circles, to a continuation of our less enlightened remarks.

"As a proof of the undecaying vigor of his intellect, we will subjoin a few extracts from a speech which he delivered in 1787, in reply to Mr. Pitt, whose commercial system he combated with a force of concentrated ratiocination, which, whatever may now be thought its value in the eyes of political economists, certainly at the time when it was delivered, received no sufficient answer.

'It is not natural for men to believe that the maxims, by which they have permanently flourished, are absurd and

*The Rev. Samuel O'Sullivan.

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erroneous. Neither is it natural for them to believe that two enlightened nations have, for a century, contemplated the same object in one view—and that both of them are mistaken. Yet all this must be admitted before we can admit, that opening the ports of these two kingdoms to each other is not advantageous to France and prejudicial to Great Britain. I will not repeat what has been stated, that this treaty is the progeny of those of 1677 and of 1713. I will not repeat that the treaty of 1677 was dictated by France to the ignominious king who dishonored your throne; that even a pensioned parliament rejected it, and substituted protecting duties and prohibitory laws; that James the second, when he wished to conciliate France, and to enslave England, re-opened the ports; that King William and the revolution barred them up again; that from the commercial ignorance of our negociators in 1713, (confessed by themselves,) the treaty of Utrecht, as to that part of it by which the two kingdoms were to be opened to each other, was also dictated by France; that the parliament, though greatly obsequious to the queen, reprobated that part of the treaty; that all wise men, and all subsequent parliaments to this day applauded their conduct. I will omit these considerations, though weighty and considerable; but what happened in 1763? Amidst all her calamities and concessions, France struggled for this principle with peculiar avidity. The situation of Great Britain was commanding; and rather than not have a peace at all, France receded. What happened in 1783? France returned to this principle with equal ardor. The situation of Great Britain was not equally commanding. But though the principle was not peremptorily rejected, as before, yet neither was it admitted. It was referred to future discussion; that is, in fact, it was evaded. And what, then, are we desired to do now? To admit a principle, which, for an hundred years, France has been importunate to gain; and which, for an hundred years, Great Britain has been resolute to refuse; which would have made the treaty of 1763 worse than it was,

when it was thought to be inadequate to our glory; and which would have made the treaty of 1783 worse than it was, when it was thought to be too humiliating for our distress.

'It is much boasted, indeed, that the manufacturers are pleased with this treaty. As, however, when they were displeased with the Irish treaty, their strongest and most express disapprobation was thought immaterial by ministers; their surmised satisfaction in this treaty now cannot be argued by the same men as weighty in its favor. When I look upon your table, however, I see no application from any manufacturers in favor of this measure; but I do see there a petition from a chamber, containing various classes of manufacturers, against it; for so the petition certainly is as far as it reaches. It is true, it is on the face of it a petition only for time and deliberation; and therefore it is ridiculed, with what reason I see not. What else could they have done with equal propriety? In so few days after the completion of the treaty, to call on you to give an instant and undeliberate negative to a measure comprehending every state, as well as every commercial consideration, would certainly have been censured as premature and presumptuous. How much more absurd and presumptuous would it have been to desire you to give an instant negative where they neither had as yet, nor could have becomingly given a negative themselves. But I will not refer to what the manufacturers may think, or to what they may talk, while it is doubtful; but to what they have publicly reasoned, of which we can judge, and to what they have sworn, which we must credit. On the Irish treaty they gave evidence, and till they come to your bar to retract that testimony, I have a right to the benefit of it; and if the manufacturers were now standing at your bar, I would ask them, were they afraid of Ireland at that time; and are they not afraid of France now? And if any of them should answer in the affirmative, I will ask him, what could be his possible reason? Is it that France is one of the most industrious, enterprising, and manufacturing nations

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in the world; and that Ireland is not so? Is it that France has all labour, and manufactural labour in particular, cheaper than Ireland? Is it that France has five times the territory, eight times the population, and forty times the capital of Ireland? If England had committed an error in her treaty with Ireland, were they afraid that she could not rectify her error without war; whereas, with France, are they sure it might not cost a war? If Ireland should have gained in the event, were they afraid of it; because it would have been the gain of fellow subjects and of the empire; and as to France, are they not afraid of it; because it will be the gain of our rival, and therefore a loss to the empire? These opinions are too absurd to be credible.

'Of the woollen manufacturer I would ask, whether in dyes, in oils and Spanish wool, France has not advantages which Ireland had not, (nor Britain either); whether France does not rival British woollens in many parts of the world, whereas Ireland did not? Whether France has not one hundred towns engaged in the woollen manufacture for one that can be reckoned in Ireland? And whether France sends either wool or woollen yarn to Great Britain; whereas Ireland sends both; whilst Great Britain sends neither to Ireland, whatever she may to France? I would ask of the cotton manufacturer whether in the raw material, France has not many advantages, while Ireland had not? (nor Britain either herself.) Of the iron manufacturer, I might demand what mighty advantages had Ireland to render her more formidable than France? And I might ask Mr. Wedgwood himself, if no other country could rival his manufacture, why he was so much afraid of Ireland? And if any other country can, why he is not at all afraid of France?

'As to the wines and brandies of France, it is evident that by her climate she has in them a physical monopoly of expensive luxuries, for which it is her interest to secure the richest and the most luxurious customer she can—namely,

Great Britain; whereas, Ireland could have no such object in a treaty with Britain, nor Great Britain with Ireland. And here I might ask, not of manufacturers only, but of all mankind, whether necessaries will not make their way without treaty, and even in spite of prohibition, where superfluities will not make their way? I would then desire it to be remembered that the exports from France to Britain are luxuries, and next to luxuries; and that our exports to France are mostly utilities of the first or second necessity. What follows? That our exports stand less in need of treaty, and less in fear of prohibition than those of France; and therefore, that treaty is advantageous to France.'

"We do not cite these extracts for the purpose of claiming entire approbation for Mr. Flood's opinions as a political economist. We know how widely the clearest sighted men have differed respecting the important positions discussed in his speech; and even if our inclination led us to stray beyond the strict limits of biography, and to engage in that discussion, our space would not permit us to do it justice. No, our only object is to exhibit the matchless power of lucid and energetic logic which that great man possessed, and to prove that what is called '*his failure*,' in the English house of commons, did not prevent him from subsequently exhibiting those powers, in a manner that must have extorted the admiration of his hearers. Well might Grattan say of him, 'give him the thunderbolt, and he had the arm of a Jupiter.'

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'What, I ask, is the object of a commercial nation? Not to be for ever busy in supplying other countries, and to leave itself to be supplied by them. That would be absurd. Its first object is, to supply itself; its second, to supply others. What follows? That two great neighbouring countries of manufacture can never be capital objects to each other; and that, for this plain reason, that they must have the greatest quantity of similar commodities; the greatest quantity of home supply; and, therefore, the smallest quantity of reciprocal wants. No axiom can be clearer than this; and therefore, the right honorable member, (Mr. Pitt,) who always states what is strongest for his case, did argue that a profitable exchange might take place between these two countries. And why? Because France, he said, is a country of produce, and because Great Britain is a country of manufacture. Now, this is true in sound, but false in reality. To make it true in reality, it would have been requisite to add, that the produce of France is a produce necessary or useful to Great Britain—whereas it is luxurious as to wines, and as to brandies it is mischievous. It ought, also, to be added, that France is *not* a country of manufacture; that is to say, that she is unable to supply herself with manufactures—because, in that case, it is likely she would consume ours. But this is so far from being the truth, that she manufactures enough not only to supply herself, but to acquire a yearly balance of bullion, much larger than any other country in Europe. We also, it is true, manufacture enough not only to supply ourselves, but to obtain a balance in specie, though not to the amount of France; that is, France manufactures enough for twenty-four millions of people, and we manufacture enough for eight millions. I will not, however, infer from thence that she manufactures three times as much as we do; I mean to reason fairly; and therefore, I admit that eight millions of our people consume more manufactures than eight, but not than twenty-four millions of Frenchmen. Now, if the quantity of her manufacture is at least equal to the

quantity of ours, we can only surpass her in the quality; and though even in quality some of her manufactures excel ours, yet I am willing to suppose that, as to quality, we excel her in more. But what does this conclude as to the home consumption of France? Nothing at all. As long and as far as, from poverty, from economy, or from nationalty and prejudices, she is content with her own manufactures, she will not consume ours. She could only import them for the use of other countries. *Now, does any man seriously wish to make France the medium of our commerce with other countries, and to give up an active for a passive traffic?* To give all the advantages of freight, commission, correspondence, and the preference as to the raw materials, or useful produce of those other countries in return, to France, instead of to England, and to make her the mercantile factor of Great Britain? Can any man entertain so insane an idea? Is any man so blind as not to see how much that would put this country into the power of her rival in peace, and of her enemy in war? What a wound it would enable France to give to this kingdom, upon the outset of hostilities? Or how difficult it might be, in such circumstances, to induce a mercantile people like the English to endure such a shock; and not rather to suffer the basest indignities that could be heaped upon a nation?

'The great objects of such a country as this, are those countries which are destitute of manufactures, but rich in bullion, or in necessary or highly useful commodities. Spain, from defect of industry and from abundance of bullion, is such an object. Holland, from defect of territory, and from commercial opulence, is such another. The northern kingdoms are objects from a plenty of commodities of the first or second necessity. Both the Americas are objects. Portugal is an object. But, look round the world, and, perhaps, you will not find many countries that are less objects to Great Britain than France—I mean of useful commerce; and to negociate for unuseful, or for pernicious traffic, would be too absurd.'

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"The following observations upon the importance of the home market, may, even at the present day, not be without their use to our tentative experimenters in commercial legislation :—

'If I be told that the manufacturers of Ireland were nearly as adverse to that treaty as the manufacturers of Great Britain, I admit it, and upon the same principle—a principle that I should not now mention, but that it bears fully and directly upon the present subject. Now, what was that principle? That the *certainty* of the home market is better than the *chance* of any other. Great Britain had protected her market for a century, and, at the end of that century they saw how she flourished. Ireland had not been permitted to protect her market during the same period, and at the end of it they felt how she stood impoverished. Spain had adopted, during almost the same period, a system contrary to that of protection, and, in spite of Peru and Mexico, it had beggared her. *The market of the world is a great thing in sound; but, in reality, the home market is to every country greater than that of all the rest of the world.* As to Great Britain, this is peculiarly true. One illustration will prove it. The corn of Great Britain is encouraged in its foreign consumption by a bounty on export; yet, though thus forced into the foreign market, what is the proportion of the foreign to the home consumption of British corn? Not one in thirty-two. I know, however, that corn being a first rate necessary of life, is in greater consumption at home, and greater production abroad, than less necessary commodities; and therefore, (meaning to reason fairly,) I do not state the disproportion between the home and the foreign consumption to be as great in all things, as it is in that particular commodity; but, after having rendered the idea striking by this example, I will, by another and a short illustra-

tion, render it precise. Every man must see this, that if the home consumption were equal to the whole produce of the national industry, foreign consumption would be of no value to British industry. What follows ? That foreign consumption is only worth to British industry *that sum by which the exports of Great Britain exceed all that she imports for home consumption.* The home consumption, it is evident, is equal to all the rest, saving the sum of that excess. Now, compare that excess with the national consumption of eighty or ninety millions, and the immense superiority of the home market of Great Britain, over that of all the rest of the world, will be apparent. What follows ? That it would be absurd to hazard this, for *the chance* of the market of one foreign country; and especially of France, that is so peculiarly capable of supplying herself.

'Besides the *extent* of the home market, there is a *steadiness* in it that is invaluable. The caprice or hostility of foreign powers may make great and sudden revolutions in the foreign market; but the home market, if we are wise, we can always depend on, for steadiness, and, in effect, for monopoly. Reflect on the immense expense to which we have gone for distant colonies. And why ? Was it not for the sake of their monopoly ? Though in distant colonies that must always be imperfect. How absurd, then, would it be to relinquish the monopoly of the home market, which is so much more perfect, and so much more extensive than that of all the colonies in the world !'

"After some fine observations, showing the impolicy, the dishonor, and the danger of certain provisions in the treaty, he thus proceeds :—

'To talk, therefore, of making France the most favored nation by Great Britain, appears to me to be absurd; and to

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make her so at present, to be dishonorable too. What must the nations of Europe think of it? They know that in the glory of the duke of Marlborough's victories, you rejected the principle. They know that in the triumphs of 1762, you rejected it; and if now, in the fresh dismemberment of your empire by France, you shall, for the first time, submit to it, they will not impute it to gratitude—they will not impute it to philosophy—I dare not say to what they may impute it. Heretofore they must acknowledge that, though you may, sometimes, have been unfortunate, you never were depressed. You have stood, (as your own Baillie* did in Asia,) presenting a front to every danger; so that nothing but an explosion from heaven could undo you. But if they read this treaty, they must think that day is over; and if they see you recede from the other countries of Europe to bury yourselves in the embraces of France, they may imagine that you have deserted that station which you have hitherto maintained in Europe. Now, I ask, *can* you desert that station? And I answer, that you *cannot;* first, because it would be inglorious; and next, because it would be unsafe. *The moment that you were to let fall that standard, it would pass to some other power; and you would cease to be the hope, and cease to be the pride of Europe.* The enemies of your former greatness would pursue your retreat, though they would stand aloof from your power. THE NATION THAT HAS ONCE DARED TO BE GREAT, HAS NO SAFETY IN LITTLENESS—she must continue her darings, or she will suffer the pains of pusillanimity!'

"This is worthy of Chatham; and will surely be allowed to contain profound political wisdom. We owe Mr. Flood this acknowledgment; as

* Colonel Baillie, who, being suddenly attacked and surrounded by the troops of Hyder Ally, formed his men into a solid square, and thus repelled his assailants.

our readers may recollect that we gave Mr. Grattan great credit for a similar sentiment, when it now appears that he was merely repeating what had been much better said by his illustrious rival nearly twenty years before. After a fine allusion to Elizabeth and Cromwell, both of whom, in most trying circumstances, placed England at the head of Europe, he thus concludes :—

'With these glories before my eyes, and remembering how nobly they have been augmented within an hundred years, I stand in astonishment at the preamble of this treaty, which calls on us, in a tone of triumph, to reverse the system of that century. I cannot help asking myself, who those men are, who thus summon a mighty nation, to renounce its honors, and to abdicate its superiority ? But, be they who they may, if they ask ME to depose Great Britain, and to put France into the throne of Europe—I answer, NO. If they ask me to repeal the revolution, I answer, NO ;—or the liberty that came with it, or the glory that followed it, or the maxims of commerce and of government that have cherished and adorned both ;—I continue to answer by a reiterated negative. I confide that you will do the same ; and I conclude.'"

The following passage exposes its defective points, in relation to the commercial interests of Ireland, and refers to the superintending influence that the British parliament ought to possess and exercise. This he spoke a day or two after the preceding :—

"I can assure the house I feel no extreme anxiety for the obtainment of any benefits for Ireland, through the medium of

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a treaty to which I have so many objections, on the ground of its being disadvantageous to Great Britain. On a former day I stated, that if the sentiments of the merchants and manufacturers remained unaltered, they could not be but adverse to a treaty with France, founded on principles so transcendantly more injurious to their interests, than the principles of the former treaty with Ireland. Nothing could be more self-evident than if the reasoning of the manufacturers had been right on that occasion, and their apprehensions had been justified, the same chain of facts and arguments would apply more forcibly on the present occasion; and their apprehensions would be still more justifiable. With regard to the cabinet of France, (understanding that Ireland was implied and comprehended in the present treaty, although it was not so declared in express words, in any part of it), I would ask, what security had Ireland for her share of the advantages or privileges which the treaty held out to Great Britain? Were privileges or advantages likely to arise from it, any more than those she had obtained by the cabinet of Lisbon, extending to her those of the Methuen treaty, in which it was well known they had refused to suffer Ireland to participate, though in violation of the spirit and meaning of that treaty? For this breach of faith on the part of Portugal, no redress had been obtained on the part of Ireland, although it had been five years in negotiation. I must express my conviction that the commercial treaty before the house is neither calculated to benefit Great Britain nor Ireland; and I think a stronger proof of its objectionable invalidity could not be stated to the friends of Ireland, than the extraordinary position in which it would place the two countries of France and Ireland, by entitling the former to commercial advantages and privileges in Great Britain, to which the latter was not entitled; and likewise extending to Ireland benefits from France which she could not obtain from England. I feel that every honest Briton must be a friend to Ireland, because *her interests* were so deeply interwoven with those of England, that they were inseparable considerations."

The closing sentences angered Mr. William Grenville, who rose with warmth to defend the commercial arrangements offered by that house to the Irish parliament, and extolled the liberality of the twenty-one propositions in no very measured language; and he imputed to Mr. Flood, primarily, the cause of their rejection: to which Mr. Flood replied,—

"I could not have conceived it possible for three or four natural expressions, to have drawn down on me an animadversion delivered in so high and imperative a tone. Being a native of Ireland, and having the honor to possess a seat in the parliament of that kingdom, I thought it my indispensable duty not to sit silent when so much had been said on the subject of Ireland, and its commercial interests; but I plainly see, if any man professes himself to be the friend of Ireland, he is to be reprehended and stigmatized as the enemy of Great Britain.

"I have before declared, that I am a friend to both countries, and I said that every honest Briton must be the same. The right honorable gentleman has contended that Great Britain is not the dependant of Ireland, it is undoubtedly true; but is not Great Britain bound to take care of the interests of every part of the empire? The parliament of Great Britain is the imperial parliament. Is it not then the indispensable duty of that parliament, in every great national measure, to look to the general interests of the empire, and to see that no injurious consequences follow to the *particular* interests of any part of it? If this is admitted, will any man say that Ireland is not to be considered on this important

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occasion—and why ?—Because the parliament of Ireland had rejected with disdain the commercial treaty of 1785. The right honorable gentleman told them 'that in 1785, this house had made a liberal offer to Ireland;' this is the first time that it has been owned that the treaty of 1785 was the offer of Great Britain! At the time, I believe, the right hon. member called them 'the *Irish* propositions,' and stated them as coming from Ireland. The right honorable gentleman has now confessed the fact, that the propositions were English propositions, sent originally from hence to Ireland, and then sent back, and finally returned from England in a shape widely altered from their original appearance!

"The right honorable gentleman has talked of delusion, and insinuated, that those who endeavoured to open the eyes of the parliament of Ireland, are ashamed to avow their conduct. The right honorable gentleman is mistaken: I glory in the share I took in that transaction. The offer had been insidious, and, under colour of commercial advantages, the constitution of Ireland was endeavoured to be bartered away.

"I hope it would not be thought, that I have obtruded the subject of Ireland upon the house; it was agitated by several, before I interfered: nor should I have said thus much, had I not thought, that my silence would have been deemed a dereliction of duty on my part, of a cause which it would ever be my pride to assist in supporting. There was something so high in the tone of the right honorable gentleman, that it struck my ear as extraordinary. I could not imagine he meant any thing personal, but I beg to say, that no man living shall brow beat me, or awe me into an unbecoming silence."

Mr. Grenville apologised. Mr. Wilberforce answered from the ministerial side. His exordium was highly eulogistic of Mr. Flood's speech,

though he considered the treaty would have different results.

"Such was Mr. Flood in England. We have felt it our duty to be thus copious in our extracts from this most able speech, because of the idle notion that was so current, that he was unable to maintain his reputation before a British audience. His first appearance, unquestionably, did not serve him; but who can read the passages which we have quoted, and not be ready to admit, that his failure, as far as it could be called a failure, was owing, purely, to the accident of having been betrayed into a speech without having made any sufficient preparation? He now fully vindicated the estimate of his early admirers; and were he a younger man, or had he enjoyed better health, it is probable that many such efforts would have given him a station and an influence in the British house of commons that would have satisfied his highest ambition.—But he was now declining into the vale of years; and the motives which stimulated to parliamentary enterprise, could operate but weakly on the veteran politician, whose youth and manhood had been passed amidst the stormy contentions of the Irish senate, and who felt himself now, in advanced life, a stranger in a strange land, politically invalided. Such was Mr. Flood's precise position at the period of which we write. His conduct upon

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the renunciation clause in his own country, and his opposition upon the India bill in England, had alienated Fox. His breach with the duke of Chandos separated him from the party of Pitt, from whom, indeed, he would in any event have been separated, by his impracticable self-will, and his sturdy independence. Even if Pitt were not too haughty to court him as a follower, he would have been too proud to follow a leader. He was, therefore, 'himself alone.' There was no section of the house, of which he was acknowledged as the head. And, without a parliamentary gathering, such as it would have been perfectly hopeless for him to attempt to muster, he clearly saw that permanent senatorial pre-eminence was not to be attained. He, therefore, we think, judged wisely in not addressing the house often; and never except upon great occasions, when the weight of his character, as well as the importance of the subject, were sure to command attention."*

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin, 25th Nov.* 1788.

"My Dearest Flood,

"How it has happened I do not know, but, though you have written, I have not received any letter from you since your departure from Ireland, and even began to be a little

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* Dublin University Magazine.—Gall. Illus. Irishmen.

uneasy at not hearing. Your letter, by our friend Parsons, relieved me. Lord Longford not being in town, I had recourse to his sister, lady Elizabeth, who confirmed what I before believed, that her brother had resolved never more to sell. She has, however, at my request, written to Mrs. Greville, who is now in England, and will soon receive an answer explanatory of her terms, which I will take care to transmit to you. I have also employed some active friends to inquire elsewhere.

"I am not sure whether I ought to wish you success at Seaford, but, since it is a favourite object, my wishes must, in spite of me, coincide with your's. An English seat deprives us of your attendance in your most proper place. Your abilities are transplanted to a foreign soil, where, however they may flourish, they do not afford, as they ought to do, a shelter to your country.

"Before your departure for England, may we not hope to see you in Dublin?

"Your's ever,

"Most faithfully and most affectionately,

CHARLEMONT."

"The king's life does not seem to be in immediate danger, though his situation is, I fear, most deplorable."

LETTER FROM LORD CHARLEMONT.

"*Dublin*, 19*th Dec.* 1788.

"MY DEAREST FLOOD,

"I HAVE this moment received a note from lady E. Packenham, with Mrs. Greville's answer to her application. She is, it seems, determined not to make any engagement on the subject till the vacancy happens.

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"In the present critical and unprecedented situation of public affairs, however ardently I generally wish for your attendance here, I am happy that you are in London, as the interests of Ireland require a vigilant guard, who knows and loves her constitution. Nothing can, in my opinion, be clearer than her rights. Freed from the slavish bondage of English acts of parliament, she can never submit to be in any degree bound by resolutions, declarations, or adjudications of a *convention*. This however must, I conceive, be well understood by all parties, and especially by that with which you seem to be connected, whose genuine Whiggish principles must prevent their entertaining a doubt upon this head; yet, in the present hurry and confusion, watchfulness may be necessary, and where can we find a more alert watchman? Our present lieutenant must, I conceive, be left here till he opens the session, since, till there shall be an *Irish adjudication*, no change can, I should think, be made in the viceroyalty; and when proper documents shall be laid before us, I will venture to assert his royal highness will find an unanimity here far more perfect than (I am sorry to say) he is likely to find in England. What these documents should be, is a question of some difficulty. Perhaps letters from the two English to the two Irish speakers, supported as they would be by public notoriety, might be deemed sufficient, or perhaps it might be better the state physicians should visit his majesty, and make their report. This, however, I do not look upon as very essential, but certain it is that whatever is done in England, in point of adjudication, must be repeated in Ireland. Though at first glance, somewhat startled at Mr. Fox's proposition, it has, I confess, upon mature consideration, greatly pleased me. Our monarchy is, thank fate, hereditary, and nothing but extreme necessity should induce us to admit of election in any part of it. You observe how, in writing to you, I hazard all my

ideas crude and indigested; a certain symptom of that invariable friendship with which I am

"Your ever affectionate and faithful,

"CHARLEMONT.

"Love and compliments to all friends."

The epistolary intercourse which had continued for so long a period, between the amiable earl of Charlemont and Mr. Flood, and which reflected many of the political scenes for thirty years, is now brought to a close. No doubt, many interesting letters were destroyed, by some ignorant and careless persons who were permitted to touch Mr. Flood's papers after his death.*

The opinions he entertained and expressed on the regency question, were coincident with those of Mr. Fox. Had he been in Ireland, we feel assured he would have participated in the transactions at Charlemont house.

The closing reminiscence of the parliament of Ireland, within the limits of this work, is not the most pleasing for contemplation, whether we regard it in reference to a learned and grave

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* Lady Frances Flood was so overcome with grief as rendered her incapable of giving any directions; and none of his testamental executors were on the spot.

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national assembly, or the individual pursuits of public men. The historian* has found an epithet the most contumelious for some, and the exalted mind of Grattan† dared others, in the commons of their country, to a defence of their by-interests.

The influence which Catherine the second obtained over the Polish diet, was scarcely more complete, than the control Mr. Pitt was rapidly securing in the legislature of Ireland.

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* Gordon, vol. ii.

† Grattan's speech, 1789.

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1790 AND 1791.

Mr. Flood on parliamentary reform in England.—Its simple, limited, and practicable character.—A few passages of Mr. Flood's exposition contrasted with Mr. Gifford's criticism in his "Life of Pitt."—Sentiments of Pitt and Fox in the debate.—Dissolution of parliament. Mr. Flood indisposed.—Accident that caused his death.—Bequest of Mr. Flood.—Observations arising from this act.—Description of the property.—The different members of his family considered by him. Delicate inquiry into the *liaison* of his father and mother, which rendered him illegitimate.—Mr. Flood's bequest viewed in its literary magnitude.—His munificence eulogised by doctor Playfair, author of the "British Family Antiquity," and the earl of Rosse, in "The Defence of Ireland."

WHEN Mr. Flood produced his moderate scheme of reform, in the parliamentary representation of England, the incipient commotions of revolution in France had excited sentiments inimical to his views, however constitutional and salutary, among the powerful party in office, and their adherents in parliament. Now, we know that event, in the the cycle of change, was, in its sequel, beyond the worst anticipation in March, 1790; but politicians feigned or felt an alarm, and communicated their apprehensions before the evil had developed itself. Not that they could find in

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England a coincident state of society, in its most comprehensive meaning, to give a shadow of argument to their fears;—not that the political integrity of Great Britain would lose its equipoise, but that the party in power might be weakened. Mr. Burke* was the first to change sides; and the humble dependant of Mr. secretary Hamilton, who, by the condescension of lord Rockingham, was brought into parliament, now arrayed himself among the aristocratic champions against reform, and he who had lived so long on the bounty of others, was naturally unwilling to extinguish rotten boroughs himself.

Mr. Pitt considered the charge of innovation to have been fairly attached to his own plan in 1783, and therefore he opposed Mr. Flood's in this year. The acknowledgment was convenient. He, probably, felt secure in the favor his governmental projects were likely to receive; and it was politic, as well as courteous, to attribute a fallacy to himself, than to a new opponent: thereby he

* Mr. Burke, like all birds of passage, knew when to emigrate. As an Irishman, he had little claim to the gratitude or affection of his countrymen. His political conduct was too chequered,—too careful of his own interest to be a model. Fox, or even Sheridan, we imagine, far surpassed him, in the best feelings of the heart. Envy predominated in his literary and political character. Though the style of his elaborate compositions had admirers, and his speeches are text-books of political philosophy; yet, when he rose to speak, it was the signal to leave the house; and his grotesque appearance astonished and amused prince Frederick of Prussia.

rid himself of all reform. Whatever degree of insincerity may have actuated him, we are not left in any doubt as to Mr. Fox's sentiments. That ingenuous statesman, with a candour so perfectly his nature, not only discountenanced some hyperbolical expressions of his friends, but concluded by saying—"He thought the outline of the present proposition, the best of all that he had yet heard suggested. If, therefore, the question was put, he would vote against the adjournment."* That was an handsome acknowledgment, and must have satisfied Mr. Flood, whose scheme was impliedly preferred to those of lord Chatham and Mr. William Pitt.

Gifford, the biographer of Mr. William Pitt, has thought proper to make the following remark: "The principle which Mr. Flood laid down as the ground of argument was this—that as the whole nation were bound to abide by the decisions of the majority, the representatives of the nation should be chosen by the majority of the people, and if this were not the case, the people were not represented at all. The proposition," continues Mr. Gifford, "was novel, though not very intelligible; nor was it rendered more so by the arguments Mr. Flood employed to illustrate it. The remedy he suggested for the alleged evil, was

* Hansard.

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the addition of one hundred members to the house of commons, to be chosen by the resident householders in every county."*

Such is Mr. Gifford's style of dispatching the mover and his motion. It often happens that a biographic writer raises himself in his own fond imagination, to a level with the genius of the person of whom he treats, and from that elevated point, looks with contempt on minds he deems inferior. He likewise attunes his note of praise or dispraise, in harmony with the key of his patron. We shall see how superficially Mr. Gifford examined this motion, even though the sentiments of Mr. Fox lay before him; the parliamentary part of his work being no more than a metaphrased edition of the debates.

MR. FLOOD'S SPEECH AND PROPOSITION.

Let us perceive the just value of Mr. Gifford's criticism by a few passages:—

"Before I go farther into this subject, however, I must stop to notice a declaration of a right honorable member (Mr. Fox), that he was an enemy to absolute government, whether in the form of monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy;—I go farther, and am an enemy to any two of those orders combined, without the intervention of the third. And though I do not distinguish

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* "Gifford's Life of Pitt," vol. ii.

between any of the three, so as to express a preference, yet I have a right to say, that as all just government must be founded in the choice of the people, and must have their benefit for its end; so it is clear, that the popular order of government is at least, as indispensable and as valuable as either of the other. Now, what is the popular order of government in the British constitution? It is the representation of the people; that great arcanum and wise mystery of our government, by which it so much excels all the governments of antiquity. By this principle, though scattered over a great country, a great people can possess an efficient influence in their own legislature, without being legislators themselves. But how? not by the shadow, but by the substance of representation: or, in other words, by an actual and not a virtual representative. Now in what does actual representation consist? In this, that as, by the general law of the constitution, the majority is to decide for the whole, the representative must be chosen by a body of constituents, whereof the elective franchise may extend to the majority of the people. For what can be so evident, as that, if the constituent body consisted of but one thousand for the whole nation, the representatives chosen by that thousand could not, in any rational sense, be the actual representatives of the people? It is equally clear in reason, that nothing less than a constituent body, formed on a principle that may extend to the majority, can be constitutionally adequate to the return of an actual representative of the people, and that, unless the people be actually represented, they are not constitutionally represented at all.

"I admit that property, to a certain degree, is a necessary ingredient to the elective power; that is to say, that franchise ought not to go beyond property, but at the same time to say, that it ought to be as nearly commensurate to it as possible. Property, by the original principle of the constitution, was the source of all power, both elective and legislative; the *liberi tenentes*, including at that time, in effect, the whole property of

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the country, and extending to the mass of the people, were the elective body. The persons whom they chose to parliament sat in right of the property of their electors; and the barons sat in right of their own baronies, that is to say, of their own property. At that time they were not creatures of royal patent, as now. But now that the lords are creatures of royal patent merely, and that freehold property is a very inferior part of the property of the nation, the national property is not as fully represented as it was originally, and as it ought to be still by the constitution."

He then finely alludes to the state of France, and for that very reason he recommends preparation for the coming storm,—

"But I am told this is not the time. And why? because, forsooth, there are disturbances in France. Now, first, I say, that if those disturbances were ten times greater than, with every exaggeration, they are represented to be, yet that mass of confusion and ruin would only render the argument more completely decisive in favor of a timely and temperate reform here. And why? because it is only for want of timely and temperate reform there, that these evils have fallen upon France. They could not begin with reparation in France; there was nothing to repair: they did not begin with ruin; they found ruin accomplished to their hands. Neither the king nor his ministers knew where to find the constitution. The king called upon the notables (no legal body) to see where the constitution was to be found. Not a vestige of it could be recovered! They had lived so long as slaves, that they had unlearned the constitution; they were driven to speculation, because practice had vanished; and hence all those calamities which have excited such tragical exclamations here.

"To what have the convulsions at former times in England been owing? to the same want of temperate and timely correc-

tion. Had the encroachments of the Tudors been seasonably repressed, Charles the first might not have mistaken those usurpations to be his constitutional prerogative; and so the miseries of the nation might have been avoided. Had not the evil practices of Charles the second been so tamely endured as to encourage the tyranny of James, the last revolution might not have become necessary. I am no friend to revolutions, because they are an evil: I am, therefore, a friend to timely reform, and for this reason, that it renders revolutions unnecessary; whilst they who oppose such reform may be enemies to revolution in their hearts, but they are friends to it in their folly.

"Another strong argument from the situation of France, in favor of a reform, is this, that France will improve her constitution. Now what has enabled this country to be at all times equal, and sometimes superior, to France? Not her climate or soil, which are not superior; nor her territory nor population, which are so greatly inferior; it is only in the excellence of her government she has found her superiority. What follows? that if France improves her government you must restore yours. Again, what is your situation as to external danger? France, the great object of external danger to England, can no longer give alarm: during her disturbances she cannot have the power; and after her liberty is established, she will not have the inclination to make ambitious war. The better her government is, the more rational will be her councils; the more rational her counsels, the more pacific they will be. Kings may hope for glory, and their ministers and minions may hope for plunder from warfare; but what can the people expect from an ambitious war? Nothing but an accumulation of taxes, and an effusion of blood. Now if a state of external danger would be a strong argument against a reform, a state of external safety is as strong an argument in its favor. Again, what is your situation at home? You are not in a state of despondency, on the one hand, that might tempt you

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to a measure of despair; nor in a state, on the other hand, of that drunken prosperity by which nations are rendered ignorant of the present, and regardless of the future. You are in that happy medium which is the best friend to sobriety of judgment, and consequently the fittest state for framing a rational and temperate reform; the only one that I would propose, and the only one to which I would consent."

First glancing at the true cause of the American war, he then presents the plans and opinions of lord Chatham and Mr. William Pitt,—

"Again, this secret of inadequate representation was told to the people in thunder in the American war, which began with virtual representation, and ended in dismemberment. To the inadequacy of representation I charge that war. Profuse counsels attendant on unconstitutional majorities had left upon you a debt, which induced the minister to look to America for taxes. There the war began; the instinctive selfishness of mankind made the people and parliament wish that others should be taxed rather than themselves. At first, and until America resisted, I agree that this wish was common to the parliament and people: but when America resisted, and the measure came to deliberate judgment, the people were the first to recover their senses, whilst the minister with his majority went on to ruin. I say that the inadequacy of representation, as it was the cause, so it was the only argument that was attempted in justification of that war. When the American exclaimed that he was not represented in the British House of Commons, because he was not an elector, he was told that a very small part of the people of England were electors; and that he was therefore in the same state, in which an infinite majority of the people of England were placed. As they could not call this actual, they invented a new name for it,

and called it virtual representation, and gravely concluded that America was represented. The argument, no doubt, was fallacious; it was perfectly sufficient, however, to impose on multitudes, in a nation wishing that others should be taxed rather than themselves; and who were in the habit of thinking that the Americans being an inferior species of beings, they ought to be contented with their situation, though they did not partake at all in the elective capacity. The influence of corruption within doors, and of this fraud of argument without, continued the American war.

"It terminated in separation, as it began in this empty vision of a virtual representative; and in its passage from one of these points to the other, it swept away part of the glory, and more of the territory of Great Britain, with the loss of forty thousand lives, and one hundred millions of treasure! Virtual parliaments, and an inadequate representation, have cost you enough abroad already; TAKE CARE THEY DO NOT COST YOU MORE AT HOME, BY COSTING YOU YOUR CONSTITUTION.

"But the people of England have not only read this secret in the dead and decisive letter of events, but they have imbibed it from the living oracles of their ablest statesmen. When the city of London, the greatest and freest metropolis of the world, applied to lord Chatham to assist them in shortening the duration of parliaments, what was the answer of that great minister? it was this, 'that shortening the duration of parliaments alone would not be sufficient; that alone, it might do hurt; that the representation itself must be amended:' and his proposition was, to infuse a fresh portion of vigour into the representative body by an addition of county representatives, leaving the rotten boroughs to drop off by time. The authority of the son, both when a minister, and when not a minister, has been added to that of the father. The authority of many other of the most eminent men might be cited in addition; indeed of all, except those who are wise enough to startle at

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restoring, as if it were innovating the constitution; and who grow enamoured of abuses, provided they are old.

After recapitulating the assigned defects in the preceding motions, Mr. Flood recommends his simple proposition :—

"My proposition is free from all these objections; for it is, that one hundred members should be added, and that they should be elected by a numerous and a new body of responsible electors; namely, the resident householders in every county—resident, I say, because that the principle of the constitution is so strongly in favor of residence, that it ordained that no non-resident could be an elector: and with reason; first, because residents must be best acquainted with every local circumstance; and next, because they can attend at every place of election, with the least inconvenience and expense to themselves or to the candidate. Householders, I say, because, being masters or fathers of families, they must be sufficiently responsible to be entitled to franchise. There is no country in the world in which the householders of it are considered as the rabble: no country can be said to be free, where they are not allowed to be efficients;—they are, exclusive of the rabble, the great mass of the people—they are the natural guards of popular liberty in the first stages of it: without them it cannot be retained; as long as they have this constitutional influence, and till they become generally corrupt, popular liberty cannot be taken away. Whenever they do become generally corrupt, it cannot be retained: neither will it be long possessed if they have not this constitutional influence; for the liberty of a nation, like the honor of individuals, can never be safe but in their own custody. The householders of this country have a better right to consideration and franchise than those of any other country, because they pay more for it. It is admitted, that every

individual of this country, one with another, pays fifty shillings a year to the revenue in tax. The master or father of a family must contribute, in proportion, for himself and for each individual of his family, even to the child that is hanging at the breast. Who shall say that this class of men ought to be confounded with the rabble? Who shall dare to say that they ought to be prescribed from franchise? They maintain the affluence of the rich, the dignity of the noble, the majesty of the crown; they support your fleets and your armies; and who shall say, that they shall not have this right to protect their liberty?"

Mr. Flood arrives at his conclusion, after citing the reflections of Machiavelli and Montesquieu, on the polity of free governments; Blackstone, Hume, and Sherlock, on the existing state of influence and prerogative, in the British constitution:—

"Let us not flatter ourselves that there is a destiny peculiar to England: she has lost her liberty more than once—it is our business to take care that she shall never lose it again. Machiavelli says wisely, that no free government can last that is not often brought back to its first principles;—and why? Because the excellence of a free government is, to control the evil passions and practices of rulers. What is the consequence? Those passions and practices are at perpetual war with such a constitution—they make a constant effort to undermine or evade this barrier which is opposed to them. What is perpetually assailed, must be perpetually defended—what is incessantly sapped, must be incessantly repaired. It is nonsense to say that the English constitution, because it was once the best in the world, can never want reformation. A bad government cannot easily become worse; it therefore may not want, and

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certainly does not deserve, reparation. A good government does easily become worse: it is with difficulty it can be preserved even by vigilance; and, of all things in the world, it best deserves to be repaired. The proposition which I make to you is practicable—that cannot be denied—it cannot be denied to be efficient—it will add a body of responsible constituents, of such number that a majority of the people may have the exercise of franchise: thus it cures the defect of the constituent body; and on the representative body it will have this good effect, that there will be no longer a decided majority in the house of commons, under another choice and another influence than that of the people; it leaves every county, city, town, borough, manor, as it finds them—it molests none of the private proprietors of that which ought not to be private. And what does it ask of them in return? Nothing, but that they will suffer the constitution to be indemnified, and the influence of the people to re-enter the representative. To carry all this into execution would require but one short provision; namely, that the sheriff of each county be required, by himself and his deputies, to take the poll of the resident householders of his county, in each parish, on the same day: thus this great remedy to the constitution may be obtained in one day, with less tumult and expense than attends upon the election of a diminutive borough; thus the representative will be chosen, as he ought to be, by the people; and, by shortening the duration of parliaments, he will continue to act as if he were so chosen."

Mr. Flood's reply to a host of opponents, we conceive to be a happy combination of memory, argument, and a dignified consideration of what was due to himself. A single passage must suffice :—

"I have given an opportunity to some of the most distinguished members of the most distinguished parts of the

kingdom to express their approbation of this proposition. I have given an opportunity to a right hon. member (Mr. Fox) to declare himself again a friend to an amendment of the representative, in those clear and unequivocal terms which best become the manliness of his talents; and I consider myself as eminently fortunate that my plan has so far recommended itself to a judgment of such authority, that he has not hesitated to say, that it is the best plan which has yet been suggested; and to add, that by the introduction of the resident householders it is well adapted to give representation to that mixed kind of property which is now become general in this kingdom. I am glad to acknowledge myself to be further indebted to him for having answered the objections of a right hon. member (Mr. Windham), so as to leave me little to say beyond that acknowledgment. In a superior tone of argument he has proved to that gentleman (and by a friendly voice) the emptiness of his objections; and therefore, whilst I admit with pleasure, the urbanity and neatness of the right hon. gentleman's reply, and the wit and humour with which it was replete, I have only to reiterate, that it was he, and not I, that assumed every thing which it was requisite to prove; and that his speech was like a fair vision that captivates the eye by an agreeable illusion, but that vanishes before the touch, and fades into innihilation."

Now the mine was about to spring under his feet, which was to close his political career.

A dissolution of parliament was shortly to take place in both kingdoms; and there is much reason to suppose, that the great leaders in both kingdoms conspired to keep him out of both parliaments. The people nowhere took him up!

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This is mentioned not to cast any uncommon stigma on the Irish,—though he was the last man in the senate whom they ought to have suffered to be neglected.—However, the greatest characters in all countries and in all ages, have experienced similar mutability.

At length both parliaments were elected, and Mr. Flood was a member of neither. He retired to his seat, Farmley, in the county Kilkenny; and his great mind, which was never depressed at the most malignant misrepresentations of his political antagonists, was not so well able to sustain the neglect and ingratitude of his countrymen.

He had a severe attack of gout, when he made an imprudent exertion to extinguish a fire in some of his premises; he caught a severe cold, which turned to a pleurisy, that occasioned his death, on the 2d of December, 1791, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

MR. FLOOD'S BEQUEST OF FIVE THOUSAND A-YEAR TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

The consideration of this important subject divides itself into three parts:—

First, the description of property bequeathed; second, the members of his family, and his

own illegitimacy; third, the literary scope and usefulness of his object.

The estate in fee, now designated Farmley, was anciently a baronial property, and is thus recited:—"The baronial castle, with the estate or appurtenances, comprising one thousand and sixty-five Irish acres, was granted to Colonel Warden* which was enrolled in August, 1666." This was the only grant to him from the crown, for particular service. It was a confiscated property, originally the possession of a powerful family, the Barrons of the county

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* EXTRACT FROM DR. PLAYFAIR'S FAMILY ANTIQUITY.

"AGMONDISHAM CUFFE, Esq. eldest son of JOSEPH, his father, was attainted by king James's parliament, in 1689, with his brother THOMAS, and had his estate sequestered; but was restored to it again by king William, to whom he did great service in the reduction of the kingdom, being the chief person his Majesty relied on for the quick dispatch and safe conveyance of the ammunition and provisions to his camp. He married ANNE, widow of JOHN WARDEN, of Burnchurch, in the county of Kilkenny, Esq. and died in December, 1727, having had many children, of whom four sons and one daughter survived their infancy, and were, 1st, JOHN, created lord Desart by patent dated 10th November, 1733. Hence, Mrs. WARDEN, daughter of Sir John Otway, was mother of the first baron, whose grandfather, JOSEPH CUFFE, took up arms in 1649, under Oliver Cromwell, when he came to reduce Ireland to the obedience of the English parliament, commanding then a troop of horse, and with Major WARDEN was instrumental in reducing the city of Cork, the 16th of October that year, for which they (Major WARDEN and Captain JOSEPH) had an order of government, dated 1st of August, 1653, to have their arrears stated from that day, (the reduction of Cork), or the dates of their respective commissions at their elections. CUFFE obtained debentures from the government, and made several purchases, and had two grants of lands under the acts of settlement. He married Martha, daughter of colonel Agmondisham Muschamy, and had twenty children!"

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Waterford, who were the lords of Burnchurch. The other estates were leaseholds, on lives renewable for ever, or ecclesiastical, on renewable fines.

The whole of Mr. Flood's property extended, (not continuously,) from near Knocktopher to the city of Kilkenny; and may have produced a rental, in his time, from six to seven thousand yearly—five thousand of which was ultimately to devolve to the University of Ireland.

The above property in fee, was derived from the Warden family. It appears that major Warden distinguished himself in the reduction of the city of Cork, in the Cromwellian conquest.

It is certain that John Warden resided at Burnchurch castle, (the old town still exists,) no despicable place of security in times of civil commotion. When that family became extinct, in the male line, the property became heritable in Anne Warden, who brought it to the Flood family, the members of which were, in the first and second generations, men of exertion and ability.

The lord chief justice extended the property, in, and about Kilkenny, and his sixth brother, Francis, followed his example at Paulstown.

The father of the subject of this memoir did not make him heir to all the estates—but, in consequence of a distinguished connexion

by marriage, and with provisions for his brother and sister. Indeed, his being illegitimate was sufficient ground for hesitation; though Mr. Flood was not "the accident of an accident," nor the spurious offspring of incontinency, but the premature evidence of a *liaison* before marriage.* The court of exchequer found this to be the fact in law; not, however, without much difficulty; and chief baron Yelverton had the inexpressible satisfaction of pronouncing his opinion on the immorality of the act, the illegi-

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* EXTRACT FROM DR. PLAYFAIR'S FAMILY ANTIQUITY.

"This highly respectable family is descended (in Ireland) from FRANCIS FLOOD, who married the only daughter and sole heiress of Colonol WARDEN, of the county Kilkenny, who possessed a large estate in that county, by whom he had seven sons and one daughter. First, the right honorable WARDEN FLOOD, lord chief justice of the king's bench in Ireland, who died in possession of that office, and left two sons, HENRY, of Farmley, in the county Kilkenny, who married lady FRANCES MARIA BERESFORD, seventh daughter of the first earl of Tyrone, by lady CATHERINE LA POER,—WARDEN, JOCELYN, and a daughter ISABELLA, who died without issue. The heir at law to Mr. Flood in the male line, was JOHN, brother to sir FREDERICK FLOOD, a baronet of the kingdom of Ireland, 3rd of June, 1780, who married, first, the right honorable lady JULIANA ANNESLEY, second daughter of the sixth earl of Anglesey, and sister to the earl of Mountnorris; he had no issue. He married, secondly, the honorable Miss FRANCES CAVENDISH. He possessed two or three small estates in Wexford and Kilkenny, and obtained a considerable sum in his alliances.

"Sir Frederick married his daughters to opulent men; yet he hoarded money to a large amount, though he did not know for whom. He censured the bequest of his cousin for neglecting him, though he had more thousands than he had years to live, according to ordinary longevity."

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timacy of his deceased opponent, and the nullity of his bequest.

After appointing lady Frances Flood (with whom he received a marriage portion of ten thousand pounds) his residuary legatee, to hold, during her natural life, all the lands, houses, hereditaments and estates, whatsoever, lying in the county Kilkenny, city and liberties thereof, and parish of St. Canice, all of which were settled on him, upon his marriage with lady Frances,—amounting to about five thousand a-year,—he distributed the eventual possession of his real property among his relations by consanguinity. He bequeathed the freehold and leasehold interests which he received from his uncle, Charles Flood, late of Ballymack, in the said county, esquire, to Warden Flood, of Paulstown, esquire, in as full, ample, and beneficial a manner as they were bequeathed to him by his uncle.

He bequeathed to his cousin, colonel Hatton Flood, of the first dragoon guards, son of his late uncle Francis, of Paulstown, esquire, "All that and those, the house, demesne, houses, lands, hereditaments and estates, so settled on him on his marriage, as aforesaid, lying and being in the county Kilkenny, in fee and for ever." This distribution was to have effect from the death of the lady Frances Flood, and conditional, on his bequest to the University of Ireland not being accomplished.

Colonel Hatton Flood relinquished every claim that he might have, in right of the above bequest, to John Flood, esquire, his cousin, who, in consideration of that act, gave him four thousand pounds.

The colonel had served his majesty so long in the wars of Germany and Flanders, that his health was much impaired; he could not expect a long tenure of life, and, being unmarried, he therefore had no interest but that the property should be possessed by the family. We have no reason to offer, why John Flood, esquire, the heir-at-law to the above properties, was overlooked; but the court of exchequer, in 1793, determined that *he* was the legitimate and rightful claimant to the property devised to the University of Ireland.

A number of dependants were considered by Mr. Flood, and two trust-worthy servants are particularly noticed.

It is impossible to know, and useless to inquire, why Mr. Ambrose Smith, his confidential law-agent and man of business, was noticed beyond an ordinary consideration, and in preference to those whom natural ties pointed out to the mind of every one: but the eccentricities of genius, like the inventions of Dædalus, are often unaccountable.

"To the University of Ireland, commonly called Trinity College, Dublin, by whatsoever

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style, and under whatsoever title it is most properly and legally characterized and distinguished, to hold in fee and for ever for the purposes hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, I will and direct that on their coming into possession of this my bequest, on the death of my said wife, they do institute and maintain, as a perpetual establishment, a professorship of and for the native Irish or Erse language, and that they do appoint, if he be still living, colonel Charles Vallancey to be the first professor thereof, with a salary of not less than three hundred pounds sterling a-year, seeing that by his eminent and successful labours in the study and recovery of that language, he well deserves to be first appointed. And I will and appoint, that they do grant one annual and liberal premium for the best, and another for the next best composition in prose or verse, in the said native Irish or Erse language, upon some point of ancient history, government, religion, literature, or situation of Ireland; and also one other annual and liberal premium, one for the best, and another for the next best composition in Greek and Latin prose or verse, on any general subject by them assigned; and one other annual and liberal premium, one for the best, and another for the next best composition in English prose or verse, in commemoration of some one of those great characters, either

of ancient or modern nations, who have been eminently serviceable and honorable to their country, SEEING THAT NOTHING STIMULATES TO GREAT DEEDS MORE STRONGLY THAN GREAT EXAMPLES; and I will that the rents and profits of my said lands, houses, hereditaments, and estates, shall be further applied by the said University to the purchase of all printed books and manuscripts in the said native Irish or Erse language, wheresover to be obtained, and next, to the purchase of all printed books and manuscripts of the dialects and languages that are akin to the said native Irish or Erse language, and then to the purchase of all valuable books, and editions of books, in the learned, and in the modern polished languages."

"As the bequest of the late Mr. Flood to Trinity College, Dublin, has been much misunderstood and misrepresented, I have been induced to lay it before the public, with some explanatory observations. Not meaning, however, at all to touch upon any of those questions respecting it, which are now pending before the courts of law, but merely to vindicate his posthumous fame from the aspersions of the ignorant and disingenuous.

"It has been said most untruly, and believed most absurdly, that it was Mr. Flood's design, in his

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legacy to the College of Dublin, to bring the Irish language again into general use in this country. But his will shows that his only object was to have it studied by some men of letters; there being many curious and valuable records in that language, which would throw a considerable light upon a very early era in the history of the human race, as well as relieve this country from the most unjust charges of ignorance and barbarism, at a time when it was by far more enlightened and civilized than any of the adjacent nations.

"Mr. Flood, therefore, in his bequest, desired that all the manuscripts in the Irish language, which could be obtained should be purchased, and deposited in the library of Dublin college. Probably many of them are now mouldering in public and private collections on the continent, whither the ancient families of Ireland conveyed them in troubled times. Many of them in the reign of queen Elizabeth were in Denmark; which induced the king of Denmark to apply to her by his ambassador to send over some learned man from this country to translate them, and one actually was engaged for that purpose: the English council, however, in the illiberal spirit of those times, prevented it, lest, as they said, it might be prejudicial to the English interest. Many of the Irish manuscripts were lately in

libraries in France, some also in the vatican, and if diligent search were made, and large prices offered, probably many more might now be saved from the depredations of time, and which will otherwise very soon be lost irretrievably. Mr. Lhuyd, the great antiquarian of Wales, prizes especially the books of the Irish laws, as likely to throw a great light on the customs and manners of early times. Yet were there many books of these laws extant even in the last century, the names only of which are known at present. It is time to save what remain."

"Often did Mr. Flood remark to me, that while in the East ingenious men were collecting and translating, with such laudable industry, the ancient writings of the inhabitants of that region between Indus and the Ganges, the valuable memorials of our own island were neglected and perishing. He thought that many of the truths of ancient history were to be found at these two extremities of the lettered world; that they would reflect light and knowledge upon each other, and lead to a more certain acquaintance with the early history of man. His great mind was wont to combine the most distant things; to bring the east and west into a juxta-position, and by the comparison of these extremes to examine the immutable coincidences of truth."

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"There is nothing novel in crediting the great antiquity of the Irish nation. Some very high authorities of Greece and Rome attest it. The ancient English and Spanish histories attest it. But there is one instance in which it was admitted on so solemn an occasion, that I must relate it particularly.

"At the council of Constance, A.D. 1417, a dispute arising between the French and English about precedency, the English canonists urged, 'that the world being divided into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa, Europe was distributed into four kingdoms; namely, first the Roman, second the Constantinopolitan, third the Irish, which is now transferred to the English, and fourth the Spanish. From which it is plain, that the king of England and his kingdom are among the most eminent and most ancient of the kings and kingdoms of Europe.' And in consequence of this plea England was declared the fifth nation in the council.

"Here, at a most solemn convention; after a deliberate investigation, by the most learned men of the times; in a case where the rank and precedence of kingdoms were at issue; the great antiquity of the *Irish* monarchy was stated and pleaded by *Englishmen*, as surpassing that of England and of France, and almost every other

European nation. Yet we often hear men now, vain of their own uninformed fancies, treating as extravagant and absurd, whatever is said of the antiquity of this nation, and speaking of it as a weak whim in Mr. Flood to give any credence to it.

"But Mr. Flood's authority alone ought to impress upon these manuscripts a deep stamp of credit and estimation. He was certainly one of the greatest men that ever adorned this country. His mind was the most capacious; his reason the most athletic; his judgment the most balanced; his erudition the most profound. His nature was too dignified to deceive others; his intellect too piercing to be deceived himself. Yet he, in the most solemn act of his existence, when he was going to leave a great memorial to all posterity of his unabating patriotism, and to make the termination of his life accord with all his actions while living, in which his country was his first and paramount object; for the prosperity of which he lived and laboured; and in the same ardour for its fame was just about to die: he, I say, consecrated with his dying breath these venerable records, and embalmed them, and his own fame together, to all posterior ages; and thus, by such a conduct, at such a time, when he knew that nothing but truth could throw glory around his declining orb, and when there was an

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end of every inclination, which could cast obscurity upon truth, has given a testimony, which ought to satisfy uninformed men of the value of these ancient writings, though uncorroborated by all the high authorities that bear evidence in their support.

"Nor was Mr. Flood singular in his opinion on this subject; the learned doctor Johnson strongly recommended the cultivation of Irish literature, as will appear from the following letter to Charles O'Connor, Esq.; author of the dissertations on the history of Ireland:—

'Sir,

'I have lately by the favor of Mr. Faulkner, seen your account of Ireland, and cannot forbear to solicit a prosecution of your design. Sir William Temple complains that Ireland is less known than any other country, as to its ancient state. The natives have had little leisure, and little encouragement, for inquiry; and strangers, not knowing the language, have had no ability.

'I have long wished that the Irish literature were cultivated. Ireland is known by tradition to have been once the seat of piety and learning; and surely it would be very acceptable to all those who are curious, either in the original of nations or the affinities of languages, to be further informed of the revolutions of a people so ancient, and once so illustrious.

'What relation there is between the Welsh and Irish languages, or between the language of Ireland and that of Biscay, deserve inquiry. Of these provincial and unextended tongues, it seldom happens that more than one are understood

by any one man; and, therefore, it seldom happens that a fair comparison can be made. I hope you will continue to cultivate this kind of learning, which has lain too long neglected, and which, if it be suffered to remain in oblivion for another century, may, perhaps, never be retrieved. As I wish well to all useful undertakings, I would not forbear to let you know how much you deserve, in my opinion, from all lovers of study, and how much pleasure your work has given to,

'Sir, your most obliged,

'And most humble servant,

'Sam. Johnson.'

'*London, 9th April*, 1755.'

"But his great bequest did not terminate here. He has ordered by his will that, after all the manuscripts in the Irish language that can be purchased have been obtained, then those books and manuscripts in the languages that have an immediate affinity to the Irish shall be likewise purchased; thereby showing the great chain of thought that moved through his mind upon this subject; and that though the fame of Ireland, as preserved in these ancient records, was his primary object, the wide horizon of his intellect embraced the early history of the whole human race, which he hoped would be illustrated by the connexion and comparison of these collateral

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testimonies. After this his bequest extends to the purchase of books in all languages, at the discretion of the governors of the University; thereby insuring to Ireland, in a course of time, the greatest library in the world. Of all the stupendous works of the Egyptian Ptolemies, none have transmitted their memories to posterity with a more luminous fame than their great library at Alexandria. The bequest of Mr. Flood is not less worthy of renown: it is the same in object, and not less in extent.* How can a nation be truly great without learned men? And how can men be truly learned without such great repositories of literature to resort to? If the acts which have most stigmatized the most stigmatized barbarians, the Vandals and the Goths, have been the destruction of such collections of lettered works, surely he who founds and institutes such must receive proportionate applause from the civilized world? But his great bequest, which, for wisdom and magnificence of design, exceeds any thing of this kind upon record in ancient or modern times, goes further still: to use his own expiring words, 'seeing that nothing stimulates to great

* The estate he bequeathed for this purpose is worth five thousand pounds a year.

deeds more strongly than great examples,' he orders that the characters of some of those great men in ancient and modern times, who have been eminently serviceable and honorable to their country, should in annual compositions be commemorated in our University; that their exalted actions may stand forth and be portrayed in living colours before every rising generation here to the end of time: that their ennobling sentiments may be poured into the minds of the young, to swell their thoughts to high conceptions and illustrious deeds: that the wreaths of true honor and of fame may be hung up in their view to excite them to those actions of refined and sublimated virtue, by which alone they can hope to reach them.

"This was the extensive range of Mr. Flood's bequest to the public; having first manifested in his will all the wise and tender anxieties and cares for those around him, for whom duty and affection taught him to provide: having for these, when he was about to retire from the world, provided every means of competency, and spread every shade of protection which a prudent and liberal mind could suggest; he then turned his eyes upon Ireland—Ireland, for whose prosperity and liberty and glory he had so many years so illustriously toiled, and which was now to be

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closed from his view for ever. His great spirit, while it was just hovering over the tomb, was still busied about the future fame of his country. It dictated those expiring accents, which direct that the materials of learning, from all parts of the earth, should be from time to time collected and deposited in the bosom of our University. Thus founding for his country an everlasting pyramid of all the accumulated knowledge of man, which should out-top the works of all other nations, and by which every future genius of our island might climb to the summit of human intelligence, and take his towering flight.— Lastly, to excite to this and to every thing else great and worthy, he orders that the most exalted examples of the most exalted men, that have ever improved and dignified human nature, may be applied to transfuse their virtues into the expanding bosoms of our youth; that thus, as it were, through the medium of his last will, his voice, though dead himself, might call continually from the tomb upon the aspiring offspring of every succeeding age to ennoble their minds, and spread glory over their country, by their knowledge, their talents, and their virtues.

"Thus this great patriot, after having made every possible provision for the past and future

fame of Ireland, sunk into his grave. The impartial judgment of subsequent ages will consider him as unrivalled in his own country ; and had it been his fortune to have moved upon a theatre as capacious as his own mind, his celebrity would not have been exceeded by any man's in any other."

Doctor Playfair follows lord Rosse with enthusiastic expressions of the literary design of this bequest. Doctor Playfair, from whose literary mine, many of the compilers of histories of families have stolen the materials of their little pyramids of fame, writes—" What could have been more noble ? What could have been more wise ? What could have been more characteristic of a mighty mind, and a patriotic heart, than the whole scheme of that bequest ? A bequest to the people of Ireland, under the direction of the University ! To draw the ancient national records from neglect and oblivion ; to make a great deposit in the kingdom of all the valuable works of literature, to encourage learning and learned men ; and to inflame posterity by the annual celebration of great exploits, to the sublime ambition of emulating them !"

We have now performed our duty ; we have endeavoured to portray with the utmost fidelity the character of a great man, who was, in an

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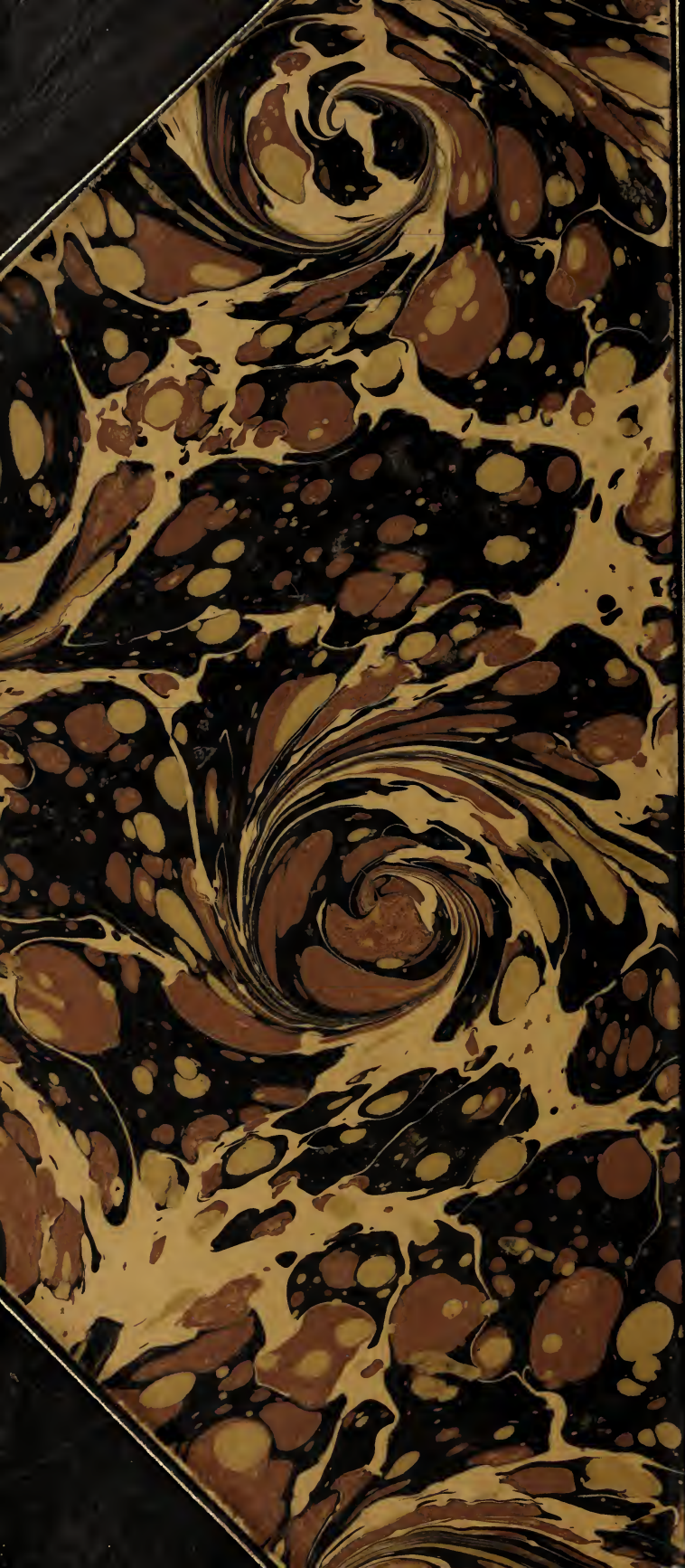
essential degree, the founder of constitutional rights in Ireland ;—of sufficiently eminent family and large fortune, he never was debauched by ambition in his public character ; nor are there any instances of his private life deficient in amiability, courtesy, and beneficence. Yet the words of Nerva, in his missive to his adopted successor, may appropriately close our imperfect biography :—

" Telis Phœbe, tuis lacrymas ulciscere nostras."

THE END.